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HYDROMECHANICS

PART I

HYDROSTATICS

BY THE SAME AUTHOR
SEX-LORE: A PRIMER ON COURTSHIP,
MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD

CHILD-LORE

A STUDY IN FOLK-LORE
AND PSYCHOLOGY 7

BY
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METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C
LONDON

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to give a simple account of what may be called the "science of childhood." It traces the progress made in the treatment of the child from primitive times up to the present day and describes its physical, mental and moral make-up, including the discoveries made by the "new school of psycho-analysis." The attitude taken up by people towards their children is largely determined by their outlook of life. This book is intended to give help to those parents who, without having any special knowledge, wish to understand their children and treat them in accordance with their real nature. The psycho-analytical school has thrown so much light on the working of the child's mind and has shown so many ideas of the grown-ups regarding children to be erroneous that without taking account of these latest scientific theories the book would hardly be complete.

F. H.

MANCHESTER,
January 1925

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INTRODUCTION

NATURE is very lavish in her production of life. Millions of seed that she brings forth are destroyed without reaching maturity. To human eyes she seems to be extravagantly reckless, squandering an enormous multitude of seeds that are cast adrift at the mercy of the elements and of living enemies eager to devour them. Only few seeds out of millions ever succeed in becoming fully developed members of the species and of attaining the purpose for which they were originally destined. It should be noted, however, that this waste occurs chiefly in the lower grades of living beings. There are certain species of fish, for instance, among which the female deposits more than 100,000 eggs; the whole sea would be covered with them, were it not for the wholesale destruction that takes place. There is a tendency for the numbers of a species to remain fairly constant, so that, if all causes of waste were eliminated, only two of the eggs laid by each female would need to reach maturity in order to replace the parents.

The reduction of waste comes about gradually with the growth of parental care of offspring. There are creatures in whom this care is entirely lacking. Thus, for instance, certain fish cast their

eggs into the water and leave them to their fate. But it is found that the higher the species, the greater is the provision for the welfare of the progeny. There exist various contrivances for the protection of the eggs ; some of these are found even as low as the fishes. In some cases the males have pouches in which the eggs are deposited until they are hatched. Others again carry the eggs in their mouths or on some part of the body, which is especially soft and adhesive for this purpose. An improvement on this is to be found in the construction of rough nests by some species of fish ; into these the eggs are laid and watched over by one or both of the parents. With few exceptions the offspring of lower species are fully developed when hatched ; they need and receive little or no parental care, but are left to fend for themselves.

As we ascend the scale of life we find that more and more continuous parental solicitude for the young is necessary, and is also forthcoming. Corresponding with this there is also a diminution in the number of the offspring produced, and therewith a greater elimination of waste. The parents, caring for their young and warding off dangers from them, can keep a greater number alive and thus need not produce so many as would otherwise be necessary to maintain the race. As a certain amount of incubation for the eggs is necessary, the female often digs a hole in the ground in which she places the eggs, and she jealously guards and broods over them until the young are hatched. This ensures a greater immunity from destruction.

It is among the birds that the most beautiful examples of parental care are met with. Parallel with their mental development goes on a perfecting of the provision for the offspring before and after birth. Progress is made from the simple digging of a hole in the ground for the eggs, as is done by some running birds, to the elaborate construction of a nest, of which one of the most marvellous is that of the weaver birds. In this case both parents collect large leaves and pierce holes with their beaks along the two leaf-edges. Then, one working from within and the other from without, they pass straws and fibres to each other until the nest is completed. It has somewhat the shape of a purse, a hedge of thorns on the outside warding off enemies.

The birdlings enter the world weak and undeveloped and are unable to feed themselves. The duration of this period of immaturity increases with the stage of intelligence of the species. Hence the parents must fulfil the task of feeding their young and of protecting them against all the vicissitudes of life that may arise from exposure to inclement weather and from their numerous enemies, until they are capable of doing this for themselves. Among the birds is also to be found the first instance of intelligent forethought for the offspring. Not only do the parents look after their progeny until maturity, but they also teach them to fly, to search for food, and to defend themselves against their foes.

Higher up in the scale come the marsupials, such as the opossum and the kangaroo. Amongst these

the female bears and nourishes her offspring in her own body, thus protecting it more effectively against cold and external enemies, until it is ripe for birth. The kangaroo is furnished with a pouch in which she keeps her young ones warm and safe after birth until they are quite capable of self-care. Protected in this manner, the young have a greatly increased chance of survival, so that the balance is kept up by a comparatively lower death rate.

Highest of all stand the true mammals, who not only carry their offspring within the body until they are ripe for birth, but can also afterwards feed them with milk from the mothers' breasts, which begins to flow as soon as the young ones are born. The number born at a time becomes less with the highest species, only one or two being born to a human mother at once. Most mammals are born blind and helpless and need the parents' care for a time, varying according to the standard of development of the species. The higher the species, the longer is the period in which the young grows within the mother's body, and the longer does it need its parents' care and watchfulness.

This attains its height in the human beings in whom the care of the young becomes less instinctive and more and more conscious and deliberate. The pregnancy of a human mother lasts nine months, the longest period of any living being, with the exception of the elephant. The human child is born absolutely helpless. It cannot move about at all, but must be carried for almost a year

and often more, before it can walk and go about alone.¹

The faculties of a human child, both physical and mental, take many years to develop fully, and during the whole of this period the parents' care is necessary. The more civilized the race the longer does the child take in attaining maturity. A savage child develops more early than one born of a civilised race, and it is thrown on its own resources at a very young age. With the advance of civilisation the duration of childhood becomes prolonged. Education from crude primitive beginnings becomes more and more systematic in every branch of knowledge. The feeling of the responsibility of the parents increases *pari passu*, so that nowadays it is not before the 14th or 16th year that children finish their schooling. Among the richer classes this continues very much longer still. To trace this progress in its various phases will be the task of the following chapters.

¹ See for further detail as regards all these facts, the author's "Sex-Lore" (A. & C. Black, 7/-, 1918).

CHILD-LORE

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF THE CHILD

1. Before Birth

Primitive people make little or no preparation for the forthcoming birth of a baby. The pregnant woman, however, is hemmed in by superstitions and taboos concerning herself and the child in her womb. According to the simple belief of savage people there are always evil spirits on the alert to injure human beings, especially at all crucial periods of life, such as birth, puberty and marriage. The savage therefore busies himself with precautions and propitiations in order to ward off noxious spirits and to ensure their beneficent influences. Protection is sought in taboos, which prohibit practices believed to be dangerous, and enjoin those that have good effects. Human life in its mysterious origin from the mother's womb appears even to comparatively advanced man so important that he holds everything that is connected with birth as holy ; or at least he fears and reveres it as a mysterious force. The functioning of the body and particularly of the generative organs

is deeply mysterious to him, and he regards it with reverence and partly with awe. It is therefore not surprising that many savage tribes consider maternity and the female functions connected therewith as unclean or unholy and baneful ; while others hold them to be sacred and beneficent. For instance, certain tribes isolate a pregnant woman or a woman about to give birth to a child, so that she may be kept out of contact with other people, because her touch is thought to be dangerous. Others believe that her touch brings a blessing wherever it alights. Thus a network of rules and superstitions prescribes exactly what she must conform to in order to be able to go safely through the period and to bring a healthy normal child into the world in due time. Every action of hers is thought to have some kind of influence on her child ; the people she meets, the things she looks at or in any way comes into contact with, sometimes even the very words she speaks, will all affect her baby for good or ill. Even amongst civilised people these superstitions exist side by side with the modern theory of heredity which explains the individual peculiarities of a person by inheritance from his forebears. It is nothing unusual even for educated people to recommend an expectant mother to look upon and study beautiful things, so that her child shall possess a love of beauty.

The basis of all such beliefs is the principle of sympathetic magic, viz. firstly, that things once connected with each other retain their original common quality ; and, secondly, that similar things

have similar powers. This principle is widespread, and there is evidence of its existence all over the world amongst savage and civilised people alike.

Only a very limited number of examples can here be quoted. Thus the belief is very prevalent that if the potential mother, or sometimes even the father, partakes of the flesh of an animal, the child that will be born to them will have the qualities of that animal. As such qualities are mainly undesirable ones for human beings, it most frequently comes about that people are forbidden to eat of the flesh of certain animals. For instance, a pregnant woman must not eat some fishes, so that the child shall not have teeth like the fish ; to eat monkey flesh will give the child the foolishness of the monkey ; to eat a bird of prey will cause the child to become a thief. The Transylvanian gipsy abstains from eating snails during her pregnancy, so that her child shall not have difficulty in learning to walk, and she must also not eat fish, as otherwise her child will learn to speak late. But it is not the partaking of animal food only that is prohibited. For instance, among the Zimbalese the bridegroom is forbidden to eat sour fruit for several weeks before his marriage, because his children would suffer from stomach-ache if he did so ; and the Makonda wife must not eat eggs, so that her child shall not be bald-headed. Among European peoples the same superstitions are to be found ; the pregnant woman in Karlsbad will eat no fruit, for she fears her child may become hydrocephalous (water-headed). And in other parts of Europe, the expectant mother must not partake

of tough-skinned fruit ; if she did so, her child would have a rough, hard skin, and so would not fear the rod.

It is, however, not only the partaking of food, but contact of the parents with certain animals and things that will have evil effects on the coming child. The pregnant Arab creeps between the fore and hind legs of a camel, so that her child may have the strength of the camel.

Sympathetic actions of the parents are supposed to have equivalent results on the child. In Massarra the husband of a pregnant woman will, if possible, avoid slaying an animal, so that his wife may not lose her child ; and in Japan the man is not allowed to fell any tree after the fourth month of his wife's pregnancy, because if he did so, the child would break its bones.

Records of the Nias tribe yield profuse examples of this belief in sympathetic magic. Thus during the pregnancy they do not look into a mirror or through a bamboo rod, so that their child shall not squint ; they do not touch a monkey, fearing that the child may have a forehead and eyes like it ; they will not enter a room that contains a corpse, so that the child shall not die in the womb ; and they avoid passing any place that has been struck by lightning, for the child might be born with a black body.

The belief that certain kinds of work done by the prospective mother during her pregnancy, or even by the father, may be harmful to the coming child is to be found amongst both savage and civilised

peoples. Thus the Ainu woman must not spin or twist ropes during her pregnancy, as this might cause the intestines of her baby to be twisted like threads; this danger also threatens if she winds wool. Examples of this are to be found in various parts of the Continent.

The popular explanation of birth-marks is also based on sympathetic magic. They are generally attributed to the fact that the mother was frightened by some animal, and that in consequence the birth-marks on the child have the form of that animal. In Germany, for instance, hairy birth-marks are supposed to be caused by fear at the sight of hairy animals. In Bavaria and many other places it is believed that fright at the sight of a fire will produce red birth-marks; if, however, the woman is wise, she will touch a hidden part of her body when thus frightened, and then the fire-mark will not occur on a visible part of the child's body. Amongst the Dyaks of South-East Borneo the parents are not allowed to burn anything during pregnancy, so that the child shall not be born with black spots.

The abnormal yearnings of the pregnant woman for various foods are familiar to all, and also the belief that this craving must be satisfied in order that no injury should be done to the mother and child. The Suabian woman believes that if she wishes for a strawberry, and being unable to get it, she accidentally touches her forehead, her baby will have a strawberry mark on its forehead.

The fear of evil spirits finds expression in a more

general way. Protection against them takes the form of amulets worn on the body, of offerings hung outside the door, and so on. A Kaffir woman ties around her ankles certain small yellow flowers which have the property of undoing evil spells. In Madras the husband of a woman pregnant for the first time makes a sacrifice to the gods.

As examples of a more directly religious attitude, familiar to our own times, the following may be mentioned. In Saxony they fear that if it is denied that a woman is pregnant, her child will never be able to speak, or will learn to speak only with difficulty. Again, in many parts of modern Europe pregnant Christians and Jewesses refuse to take the oath in court, fearing that they may tell an untruth unwittingly and thus draw down God's curse on the child in the womb.

It is quite a common belief that the sex of a child to be born can be determined beforehand. Thus the Spanish and Portuguese have a superstition that a woman with child may expect a boy if, when going upstairs, she treads on the first stair with her right foot ; if she treads on it with her left foot, a girl will be born to her. The Kaffir mother takes certain drugs to determine or change the sex of her child about to be born ; and modern Europeans think they can influence sex by special diet.

Dreams are generally regarded as prognostic of the expected child's sex. If a Chinese dreams of a bear he may expect a boy, but if he dreams of snakes and adders a girl will be born to him. With the Kaffir again, should she dream of black or green

snakes or buffaloes, the child will be a boy ; if of puff-adders or of crossing full rivers, the child will be a girl. Some Europeans also believe that their dreams foretell the sex of the coming child.

2. Birth

The eventful day of birth is naturally considered to be of great importance for the child's future welfare. The hour of the day, the day itself, the position of the constellations at the moment of birth, have each in their turn been thought to affect the character and destiny of the newly born.

The following rhyme must be familiar to most people :

' Monday's child is fair in face, Tuesday's child is full of grace, Wednesday's child is full of woe, Thursday's child has far to go, Friday's child is loving and giving, Saturday's child works hard for a living, But the child that is born on the Sabbath morn is the happiest child that ever was born.'

Sunday's child, we see, is to be lucky, and this idea seems to be fairly prevalent. Friday, on the other hand is generally considered, both in England and France, to be an unlucky day. Again, in this country, babes who are brought into the world on Christmas Eve are said to be exceptionally talented ; yet in Naples this day is baneful to babies ; for if they are born on Christmas Eve, they are possessed at nightfall by rage, and they crawl about on all fours trying to bite. Their rage ends only when they are wounded until they bleed. They may be recognised by their long nails.

Midnight seems to be a momentous time for birth. In Lincolnshire the children born at that hour are supposed, like those born on Christmas Eve, to be very talented. In other districts it is said that children who enter the world at midnight will have the power of seeing ghosts. In Devonshire, by the way, it is thought that those born during daylight will never be able to see ghosts.

The ancient Greeks carefully studied the stars at the time of a child's birth in order to draw a horoscope foretelling its destiny. For instance, a child born when Mars predominated would be of a martial nature and would probably make a good soldier. The moon too has played her part in these superstitions; the saying is still current, "No moon, no man." "A boy never comes to anything that is born at new moon," says Fairway in Thomas Hardy's "The Return of the Native." Astrology has been practised throughout the ages and all over the world; it is still in vogue amongst backward peoples, and even in civilised life we still use the words, "disastrous," "ill-starred," and such phrases as, "born under an unlucky star," etc.

Physical peculiarities at birth are also thought to be prognostic of the child's destiny. For instance, children born with teeth are looked upon with distrust and even horror among both civilised and primitive people. The character of Richard III is made more sinister by the story that he was born with teeth. In fact, such children are often killed, for they are thought unlucky. Then again, it is said in Bohemia that babies who have long hair at

birth will shortly die ; and that those that have short hair on the hand will become rich. This latter is a very prevalent belief. The Jamaicans say that to be born with small ears is a sign of future poverty, and that the possessor of long ears will become rich. In the Congo albinos are said to be the incarnation of water spirits ; they are supposed to be powerful and are greatly feared ; they can cause and cure rheumatism.

Apart from their trust in the horoscope and the stars' influence the ancient Greeks and Romans believed that the gods decreed the destiny of each new-born babe ; and the old Scandinavians also thought that three Fates, like those of the Greeks, decreed the fortune of the child. They were called the Norns. In Roumania it is said that nine virgins appear and bestow spiritual and physical gifts on the newly born. To welcome them the table is spread with white plates containing bread and salt, and glasses of water. Nine spoons are also laid.

As has been previously mentioned, birth and everything connected therewith is looked upon with awe and reverence. It is therefore not surprising that both the navel cord and the caul (a piece of membrane which sometimes covers the child's head when born) are considered to be both mysterious and holy in origin. In many tribes the navel cord can only be cut by priests, and it is buried in sacred ground. Prayers, offerings and feasts are arranged to celebrate this great event. Both the navel cord and the caul are believed to affect the life of the child, and under certain con-

ditions may also influence the life of others. The possession of a caul brings luck in love and witchcraft, gives eloquence, frees from military duties, serves as a protection against judicial sentences and against highwaymen, sharpens the power of ghost-seer, makes a person skilful and famous, guards against family quarrels, drowning and shipwreck, and lightens the hour of death. The South-Slavs consider the caul sometimes as lucky, sometimes as fatal; their girls that are born with a caul are witches or will become so; they can see at night as well as cats. In England the caul is said to bring good luck, both to the owner and to others who may ultimately possess it; it is supposed to protect against shipwreck. High prices used to be paid here for cauls; twenty guineas was paid for a caul in 1779, and in 1848 six guineas was given for one that had already been worn by a sailor for thirty years, and for which he had originally paid £15. In Belgium, again, a child will be lucky if its caul is buried in the field; if it is thrown in the fire or in the mud, however, the child will be unlucky.

The navel cord also lends a good memory, theoretical knowledge and practical ability; brings health, riches and courage; protects against sword and against pistol shot, prevents homesickness, and influences the social and commercial life. It is very often preserved for future use. Some people wear it as an amulet as a protection against evil spirits. Often it is chopped up, mixed with various foods and given to the child to partake of at a certain

period. This enables the child to study well, and makes it sensible, brave, and so on. When a child reaches the age of intelligence, the Roumanians show it the carefully preserved navel cord, the sight of which will cause the child to acquire a liking for work. In East Prussia the navel cord is put on the child's breast, when he goes to school for the first time ; this will enable him to read well. In Dutch Togo they have a professional cutter of the navel cord, who must be humorous and laugh a great deal whilst cutting it, so that the child shall soon be able to laugh. The Armenians hold a coin under the navel cord when cutting it off, so that good luck may always be with the child.

The navel cord and the after-birth are by some peoples planted at the roots of a young tree, and the child is thought to grow as fast as the tree. Human life has always been considered to be intimately bound up with the life of trees even before a child's birth ; and the custom of planting a tree at the birth of a child has always existed. Virgil's parents planted a poplar tree at his birth in the hope that their son should surpass other people, just as the poplar surpasses other trees in height. In Switzerland a child thrives in sympathy with the tree which is planted on the day of its birth. Apple trees are set for boys ; pear and nut trees for girls. In Berne a child will learn to sing beautifully and lustily if, during the watering of a young and fruitful tree with the child's first bath-water, there was merry singing. This planting of trees is sometimes done for economic purposes, as for instance in the neighbourhood of

Turin, where poplars are planted at the birth of a girl ; these will form her dowry.

These numerous examples exhibit once again the belief in sympathetic magic which is also shown in the custom of putting various objects such as spindles, bows and arrows, swords, etc., by the side of the new-born child as symbols of its future destiny. Thus the Negroes in Guinea place the new-born boy on a shield (as the Spartans did), and a bow is put in his hand ; the newly born girl is placed on a mat by a woman of the tribe and given a little stick for stirring foods. The Montenegrin puts pistol and rifle near a boy's cradle ; near a girl's spindle and flax are set. The child has to kiss them on the day of baptism. Among the Wends the god-parents put nine different seeds in the cot of their god-child if it is a boy, so that the corn shall grow ; by the girl's side they place flax and a threaded needle, so that she shall be successful in spinning and shall learn to sew well.

The advent of a baby is welcomed in various ways, according to the race to which the child belongs. Often, however, the birth of a child is considered an unmitigated nuisance ; and amongst savage peoples the child is not always sure of being permitted to live. Infanticide has been practised throughout the ages, and even nowadays it is still to be met with. The baby is not always killed directly, but it may be exposed overnight on the the first day of birth. The weaker children, of course, cannot survive this exposure ; but if a child should survive this ordeal, it is generally allowed to

live. Girl babies are and have been more subject to this treatment than boys, because they are as a rule not wanted as much as boys; for in primitive society it is the male, the fighter, who is of greater importance to the tribe, and he alone is deemed worthy to carry on the ancestral worship. The Spartans exposed all new-born babies in order to select the strongest; they did not wish to rear any but perfectly healthy children. The ancient Greeks and Romans gave the father the right to decide whether the child should be permitted to live or whether it should be exposed. The child was laid on the ground; if the father was willing to keep the child alive and to acknowledge it as his own, he raised it from the ground. This was done with great ceremony. A similar custom is practised by the Hottentots.

Amongst the ancient Germans, the father decided on the fifth day after birth whether the child should live or should be exposed, and he also showed that he recognised it as his own by picking it up. Modifications of this custom still continue in many parts of Europe, though its origin has been forgotten and various explanations are now given for its existence. Thus, for instance, the reasons given for putting a new-born child on the floor or under the table are, that it may become strong and sensible, or that it may have good hearing, etc. In Prague it is said to make the child industrious and obedient; and in Berne the baby is put under the table wrapped in its father's shirt, so that it shall always like to eat cheese. If this precaution were not taken, the child

would dislike cheese, which would be a calamity in a community where cheese is one of the staple foods.

There is naturally great rejoicing and feasting when the new-born babe is of the sex desired by the parents, and there is great disappointment if the child happens to be of the opposite sex. Thus amongst the Montenegrins, who are a warlike people, joy reigns when a boy is born; the tables are spread, relations and friends come to congratulate the parents and to wish the boy what they consider the best of all wishes, i.e. that he should not die in bed. Should a girl be born, the father stands on his doorstep and drops his eyes as if he wished to beg his neighbours for forgiveness. In Syria the midwife conceals the birth of a daughter from the mother, fearing that the bad news may injure her health. At Schaffhausen in Switzerland the neighbours send two bouquets at the birth of a boy, but only one at the birth of a girl. Boys will always be more welcome so long as there is warfare and there is need for soldiers, although the great European war has taught many people that even girls may be as necessary and as helpful as boys.

Among tribes which still sell their daughters in marriage, girls are looked upon as a great asset and are wished for more than boys. Thus in the Ainu Islands the mother is reproached if she has given birth to a boy, whilst there is great rejoicing if the newcomer is a girl, for the parents hope to receive a good price for her as a bride.

Among the South African Basutos the people who bring the father the news of the birth of a boy give him a thrashing for not having a girl ; but at a girl's birth they pour cold water over him so that the great joy should not harm him.

The arrival of twins causes much more commotion than does that of a single child. As it is of comparatively rare occurrence among human beings to have more than one child at a birth, it is not to be wondered at that among some peoples the advent of twins is looked upon as supernatural and mysterious ; in fact, in Mexico and some other places the parents of twins have actually been killed, because they have brought something direful into the world. In many lands the devil or some malicious demon has been credited with the paternity of twins both in ancient and in modern times, and particularly in the Middle Ages, when the devil was supposed to play many rôles in human life. Thus in Peru of to-day the later born of twins is buried alive since it is the child of the devil. Generally it is the mother who bears the disgrace of having brought twins into the world. Some peoples have even gone so far as to burn the mother as a witch or as one who has been in contact with, or is possessed by, evil spirits ; others consider it as a proof of unfaithfulness to her husband, and the woman is punished accordingly. But even amongst those tribes, such as the Papuas in British New Guinea, where the woman is not directly accused of crime, she is yet mocked at and compared to a bitch that litters a dozen puppies at a time. In this case, as in some

others, the father also shares the blame, and is suspected of either having broken a taboo or of having committed some misdeed for which he has thus been punished.

There are, however, other races who attach no blame to either of the parents, yet think it unlucky for them to have had twins. Twins like mal-formed or crippled children are the bringers of bad luck to their parents and to themselves, and are even thought to be a source of personal danger to the mother. In Egypt twins are said to wander about as cats in the night, if they go hungry to bed. Their bodies remain at home and nobody must touch them, otherwise they die.

These various reasons and the fear of the parents that they may not be able to nourish more than one child cause many tribes to practise infanticide, and one, or sometimes both of the children are either killed directly or are exposed. If the children are of different sexes, it is frequently the girl that is the victim ; but among certain Australian tribes, if one of the children is put to death, it is generally the boy. In Ashanti twins are either exposed in the jungle or are sold.

In direct opposition to this practice was the custom in old Peru, where the birth of twins was looked upon as a wonder ; both mother and twins were wreathed with flowers, and songs in praise of the mother were sung. In Herero the parents of twins are considered holy. In fact, here twins are a financial asset to the community.

3. The Child and the Spirit World

As has been previously mentioned, there exists the belief all over the world that a host of demons and evil spirits, witches, elves and fairies, water and wood spirits, and kindred beings are always lurking around the new-born child in order to gain possession of it or injure it. It is therefore necessary to propitiate them by offerings and prayers, and to ward off their baneful influence by the wearing of charms and amulets and by the performance of many superstitious and religious rites. Thus to ensure the good-will of the gods the ancient Greeks would let the midwife carry the baby around the domestic altar on the fifth and seventh day after birth, and they sacrificed to the gods on the day of the child's reception into the family. Similarly the negroes on the Gold Coast bring their fetish an offering on the birth of a child. The Dyak kills a hen and swings it over the head of the new-born child, thus showing that he offers the life of the fowl for his child's life.

According to these popular notions there are many more malevolent than benevolent spirits, and so most precautions are taken to nullify their evil intention. They seem to have a particular appetite for human blood. The fear of these vampire-like creatures is widespread, and innumerable defensive measures are devised against them. Amongst the Jews Lilith is the creature considered to be most dangerous to both mother and child. She tries to suck their blood, and for protection against her, a

paper, bearing some psalms and her various names (of which she has many) is hung on each of the four walls of the lying-in room. Light, the great enemy of darkness and dark deeds, naturally ranks high in the estimation of people as a safeguard against evil spirits, because these always shun the light. Fire, smoke and strong odours are also efficacious means adopted for driving these spirits away. Thus the Transylvanian tent-gipsies make a hole in the ground in front of the tent in which the mother and child are lying, and in this a fire is kept burning until the day of baptism, when of course all danger is supposed to be over. The Kaffir mother makes a fire with scented wood and holds the baby over this until it cries; this drives away the wizards who injure little babies. To neutralise still further all evil influences incisions are made in the skin of the mother and of the child on chest, cheek, forehead and on a spot over the heart, into which special medicines are rubbed.

Iron and the weapons made from it have a special defensive power, and are used as such by primitive and civilised people alike. Thus in India a horse-shoe is nailed on the door-step as a precautionary measure. In different parts of Europe, such as Bohemia, iron in the form of a knife on which a cross is marked is a good protection. In Italy the child sleeps three days and nights with a pair of scissors lying on its stomach; this affords protection against all evil influences. The parents' clothing placed about the child is considered a safeguard, and so also is bread. Thus in Norway and also in Brittany

a piece of bread placed on the breast under the child's binder will protect it against anything supernatural.

To the primitive mind disease and death are inexplicable. It is not natural to fall ill, and therefore some supernatural explanation must be found. Thus it comes about once more that the ever-ready demons are accused of bringing about all the sicknesses that fall to the lot of human beings. In families where an older child has died, there is great fear for the next child, and many are the precautions taken to keep it out of the clutches of demons or other envious spirits. One of the best ways of eluding them is to make the child so disgusting that the spirits will have no desire to carry it off. Thus amongst some Indian tribes the parents who have lost one child roll the next born baby in a rubbish heap to make it distasteful to the god of death. Other methods of making the child repulsive to the spirits are : making black marks on the forehead, or dressing the child in rags as if it were not worth caring about. Even mutilations are resorted to as a protection against those malicious spirits who have already carried off the other children. Piercing of the ear is a fairly prevalent custom. This may be explained as a sacrifice to the gods ; or it may be that the mutilation will create a distaste on the part of the spirit against the child. This superstition lingers on in the custom, now fortunately dying out, of boring holes in a girl's ears in which ear-rings are hung to ensure her sound eyes. Evidently the demons have a particular fondness for girls' eyes. In

Abyssinia the mother bites off a piece of the left ear of her child and swallows it with a little honey. If this precaution were not taken the child could not live. A more cruel mutilation, which is inflicted by some Hottentots for the purpose of preserving a child's life, is to cut off a joint from its finger.

Another very simple way of deceiving the spirits is to disguise the sex of the child. A mother who has lost any children will dress her new baby in the costume of the other sex. This custom is practised by the Thonga tribe about Delagoa Bay. In the Central provinces of India a male child born after the death of some of his brothers will be dressed as a girl. His nose will be pierced and a nose-ring inserted, as is always done to a girl. This will make the spirits think he is a girl and, therefore, not worth having.

The spirits seem to be very stupid and easily gulled, if we may judge from the practice so very widespread of giving a child a nasty, disparaging name. This excites the disgust of the spirits who think such a child not worth meddling with. Thus, among certain races of Siberia a person who has lost some of his children will call the new-born "dog's child," hoping to convince the spirits that it really is a puppy. Among many castes in Bengal, for instance, may be found such opprobrious names as **Famine-stricken**, **Blind**, **One-eyed**, **Grasshopper**, **Rat**, **Tom-cat**, **Scoundrel**, **Lizard**, **Dunghill**.

However ridiculous these beliefs may seem to us, it should be remembered that on the basis of the knowledge possessed by primitive people, practices

of this kind are really logical. For instance, seeing that the spirits will naturally lie in wait for their prey at the ordinary doorway of the home, the best plan for evading them is by making a special doorway at the side of the house for the child's use, as is done in Uganda, or by digging a hole under the doorway to pass the child through, as is done by people in Bombay.

Again, the spirits' malevolence can only be attributed to their jealousy of the parents, so the best way to prove to them that their jealousy is unfounded, is to pretend to be childless. This can be done by a mock exposure or sale of the child. Thus in Macedonia a mother, who has lost several children, exposes her new-born child in the street. A friend, who has previously been warned, picks up the child, dresses it in strange clothes, and returns it to the mother after a few days' interval, when the spirits are thought to have given up the hunt. In Bengal there are fictitious sales. Parents sell their child to some woman of a lower caste, and buy it back again at a higher price. Elsewhere parents who have lost several children will carry their new baby to a friend's house and leave it there. After a time they come back to the friend and ask, "Have you a slave to sell?" and so buy back the child. Children who have thus been sold or bought always receive a name beginning with Seeak, which means "a slave."

The fear that evil spirits may secretly exchange their own offspring for the newly born infant, is to be found in almost every country, even at the present

time. Children who were born healthy, but who later became sickly and peevish, and children with abnormal disfigurations are said to be "change-lings." In the British Isles, and particularly in Ireland, the belief in fairies still persists. The fairies are of both sexes, and in Wales and the Isle of Man there are tales, not dating back more than thirty years, of women fighting with the fairies that tried to steal their children. In County Leitrim, Ireland, the father must not leave the house on the night after birth; for the fairies will not be able to touch the child as long as the father's breath is in the house. In fact, the first few days after birth seem to be the most dangerous, the fairies trying then to substitute their own ill-favoured imps, whilst the mother sleeps and the child lies unprotected. In the German folk belief it is said that the demon places his offspring, which completely resembles the human child, near to the baby; if the mother reaches out to her own child first, the changeling disappears; but should she touch that first, the demon takes her baby away. The Southern Slavs consider the third and fifth day after birth to be most dangerous, and so hold watch beside the child on these days. Neighbours and friends gather together for this purpose and spend the time in singing and story telling. Falling asleep is punished by blackening the face of the sleeper. In the North of England it is believed that the fairies exchange babies when the human mother takes her babe to the fields in harvest time and leaves it in the cradle in the hedge. In Lancashire and in Scotland various

charms and amulets are used to prevent the child being stolen away. In Scandinavia the child is protected against fairy exchange by giving it nail, needle, scissors and knife in the cradle, up to the time of its baptism. In many places dogs and cats are not allowed to enter a house before the child is a year old ; for it is believed that witches will come in, disguised as cats, and the devil often takes the form of a black dog. As a protection a prayer-book is placed in the bed of the mother and under the head of the child.

Side by side with the belief in direct injury to human children by evil spirits there has always been the fear of intentional or unintentional injury caused by look or word, or in other words by " the evil eye " and by a " beshrewing." The evil face, the evil eye, the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lips, the evil word are the subjects of one of the eight formulas against witchcraft found in the king's palace at Nineveh. Human beings can be the possessors of the evil eye, and can unconsciously harm the child they look at. It is not only anger, jealousy and feelings of enmity, but praise, admiration and well-wishing which can injure the child by arousing the malice of the jealous demons. It is therefore considered unlucky to express any admiration for a baby without saying some special formula, which, of course, varies with the nationality of the people and with their religious faith. Every illness that may befall a child is thought to be due to evil spirits or their indirect workings through the evil eye or word. The usual protections of charms and

amulets are hung about the child. Colours also seem to be of some importance ; blue is considered a protective colour in Persia, Syria, Bengal and other places ; red is used for the same purpose in India, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and Algeria. In England coral was regarded as an amulet against fascination, and the colour was said to be affected by the ill-health of the wearer. Coral still seems to be a favourite wear for children here, so that some of this superstition evidently survives. The precautions against evil spirits, enumerated above, are all efficacious against the evil eye. Thus to avoid jealousy the child is left dirty and kept in soiled clothing, or it is given an opprobrious name. " Garlic " is one name given in Silesia, and as the wearing of garlic is also considered to be a protection by different people, we may assume that the spirits have sensitive nostrils. In fact, a strong odour such as that of camphor or smoking will drive them away. Tattooing the child with circles in the shape of an eye is also helpful against the evil eye, and beads which might be thought to resemble the human eye are hung on the child. All these are, once more, signs of the belief in sympathetic magic.

Religious initiation of the new-born child has been practised both by civilised and by primitive peoples throughout the ages. In modern Europe, and wherever Christianity flourishes, this initiation takes the form of baptism. The methods of baptism are varied, differing with the various Churches ; but the main procedure shows on the whole great uniformity. They

chiefly consist in the bathing of the child, or in sprinkling it with holy water, anointing it with oil, touching its ears and nostrils with a mixture of ashes and saliva, giving it salt, arraying it in a white garment for the ceremony, and so on. The naming of the child takes place on the same occasion.

But though now mainly known as a ritual act of Christianity, baptism has been practised by people of other religions, and it can be traced back to early times and to primitive people. Thus the ancient Romans washed the new-born child in the Baptisterium (bath) on the eighth or ninth day after birth, on which day the child received a name. The ancient Germans also had, in connection with the name-giving, a custom resembling baptism, which rendered the child proof against hostile weapons; in North Scandinavia they sprinkled the child with water to consecrate it to the family gods, so that it became an acknowledged member of the family and could no longer be subjected to exposure. In modern times an example of baptism very much akin to the Christian is found among the Moslem of East- and Central-Sumatra, who also combine it with the namesgiving; the whole ceremony is carried on in a lavish way. In Persia the religious law ordains the washing of the newly born, prayers, rubbing of the child's palms with a few drops of holy water from the Euphrates, or in lieu of this with some sweet liquid. (Sweet fluids, such as honey, are often used as religious symbols.) At the time of the ceremony the child is given its name. These are only a few out of numerous examples of baptism and

the accompanying rites resembling the Christian practice in many ways.

The anointing with oil is a custom to be found amongst many primitive and other people in India, Asia and other places. It was also practised by the ancient Greeks and Romans. The purpose of anointing with oil, over which a prayer has been said, is to drive away evil, that is, the devil. Giving salt to the baby or rubbing the newly born child with salt also prevails with a multitude of races. Salt, being a great cleanser, has come to stand symbolically as a purifier of the soul as well as of the body. Amongst the Greeks and Romans salt was said to be a gift of the gods, and as such was never to be omitted from the table or absent at any sacrifices. The touching of the child with a mixture of ashes and saliva is practised in the Roman Catholic Church. It has always been thought that saliva has a healing effect, and affords protection against the evil powers. As such, it was resorted to by the Greeks and Romans, and is still used by some peoples of to-day. In Bombay they spit on an ill person to cure him. The robing in white stands as a symbol of innocence. The exorcism of the devil, practised by some Churches, is akin to the many varied precautions taken against evil spirits by primitive peoples that have been enumerated at the beginning of this chapter.

It is hardly to be wondered at that so many superstitions still attach to baptism and its attendant ceremonies, for people cling very tenaciously to old beliefs and prejudices. It is, therefore, difficult to

define the border line between superstition and religion. The belief in the efficacy of baptism has its origin in the belief in the mysterious power of water, so deeply rooted in humanity ; and similarly other superstitions linger on, which can be traced back to primitive beginnings. Thus the notion that the baby can be directly influenced by whatever comes into contact with it at baptism is due to the old idea of sympathetic magic ; so, too, is the feeling that the name that is given has some mystic meaning and power. For instance, in Scotland and in many other places it is considered unlucky to tell a stranger the name of the child before the christening. It is said in East Prussia that if the godfather carrying the baby walks quickly to church, the child will early learn to walk. Even his thoughts may influence the child ; and therefore, he must not allow them to wander. Should he think, for example, of a were-wolf, the child will have the nature of a were-wolf ; should he think about madness, the child might become a lunatic. In Switzerland the godmother that carries the child to the christening must not look back, or the child might become blind ; she must walk quickly, so that it shall become clever and skilful ; she must not speak much, so that the child shall not become a chatterbox. On the way back from church she must be given a drink of wine, in order that the child may become strong, honest and faithful. In Germany during the Middle Ages the child went to church to the accompaniment of music or bells, so that it should not become deaf or lose its voice.

Other superstitions are, or have been prevalent in many English counties, such as Norfolk, Suffolk and Yorkshire, and are to be found in Scotland and also in Sweden. For example, where there are girls and boys to be baptised at the same time, the boys must come first, otherwise the girls will have beards and will acquire manly characteristics. Again, it is of good omen if a child cries when sprinkled with the water during baptism. Some people even think the child will die early, if it does not cry; people have even gone so far as to ask the officiating clergyman to pinch the child in order to make it cry.

The fear of evil spirits is once again exemplified in the following customs. In Westphalia the midwife, on returning with the baby from church after christening, strides over an axe and a broom, which have been placed on the doorstep as a precaution against evil spirits. In Yorkshire it is believed that the first child to be baptised in a new church will die, because the devil demands the firstling as his due. This may have some connection with the old custom of walling up a human being as a sacrifice in the foundations of a building.

The namesgiving frequently of the child again is accompanied by superstitions and religious observances. The time chosen for the event varies greatly; it may take place while the child is still in the mother's womb, or as late as two years or even more after birth. The custom of naming a child yet unborn is to be found among races such as the Singalese and the Papuans. Most races give names to children shortly after their birth, but some wait

a longer or shorter period, according to the child's sex. Thus the Jews name a girl on the day of birth, but a boy eight days after birth, on the day of circumcision. The ancient Romans gave names to a girl on the eighth and to a boy on the ninth day after birth.

The choice of names is greatly dependent upon the religious feeling of the people, which is generally expressed in the dedication of the child to the god-head. This is customary among the Jews and Christians, as well as among many existing lower races in India, Australia, etc., and was found also among the ancient Greeks and Romans. The naming of a child after a dead person is often due to a belief in reincarnation. This is done by races in Australia and India, and among the Central Eskimos, where there exists the belief that the soul of a dead man will dwell for some time in the body of his living namesake. Some races bestow names upon children at certain times in their lives: thus the Korean girl receives no name at birth, but as she grows up has some sort of cognomen by which she is known to her friends and relations. At marriage she is named by her parents after the district in which her husband lives, and the parents-in-law call her after the place in which she lived before marriage. In Japan the child receives a name only six months after birth; a boy will hold this until puberty, when he receives another, and this is again changed when he enters upon a profession. The Chinese also give their children several names; the girl keeps hers up to the time of her engagement,

but the boy often has his name for life. In the Province Kan-Su a child receives a first or milk name on the third day after birth. When a boy goes to school, this is changed for a school name, which he uses for his examination, etc., and sometimes this is again changed.

It is the custom among some races, such as the Jews of South Russia, to alter the name of a child that is seriously ill, especially if the parents have lost other children, or if the child is the only one. It is then called Granny or the Old One, and through life only the nearest relatives may know the real name, but may not mention it. The fear of speaking the name of a person is found among many races. The name is thought to be a part of the person possessing it, and another's knowledge of the name may mean as much as having possession of its owner.

Religious ceremonies at namesgiving (apart from christenings) are to be found amongst ancient and modern races all over the world. In most cases feasts and the giving of presents were and are also customary.

A queer custom practised by many races is to call the parents by the child's name with the addition of a prefix meaning "father" or "mother." Thus in Sumatra Pa (father) or Ma (mother) is added to the child's name for this purpose.

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL CARE OF THE CHILD

1. Bathing

The physical care of the new-born child among uncivilised people is greatly dependent on superstitions and religious taboos ; sanitary reasons play a relatively small part in the first care of the baby. Seeing that the child comes into the world in such a state that a cleansing is an absolutely immediate necessity, one would imagine that some form of bath would be the first thing it receives. Yet there are many races, of all degrees of civilisation, that do not bathe their new-born babies. The degree of civilisation can therefore hardly be deduced from this first care of the child ; for many primitive races keep their little ones in a much cleaner and healthier condition than do some of the peoples of Europe. The child is not always given a bath for the purpose of cleanliness and health, but often solely for religious reasons.

Many peoples consider it dangerous to bathe a new-born child or even a suckling, while others think it quite unnecessary or even actually harmful. In certain provinces of Persia, e.g., a child is generally not bathed before its third year ; and again the

bathing of babies is not customary among the lower masses of the Boers, the Fellahs and the Kabyles, as well as among some Australian tribes. Sometimes the children are only washed when they are sick. In some parts of Armenia, Russia and Germany, as well as among the Hottentots, Mongolians, Tartars, etc., the child is only once given a bath and afterwards merely washed down, but not too frequently.

Some races, like the Persians mentioned above, that do not give their new-born children a water bath, rub the children with salt and afterwards wash them down. The custom of rubbing in salt is very prevalent even among peoples that give their babies baths, and this is frequently done after the bath. The ancient Greeks, Hebrews and Arabs rubbed their new-born babies with salt ; this is still general among the modern Greeks. It is said by them that a child that is not salted will come to no good. Some Armenians not practising this custom are called by others "unsalted Armenians." This custom seems occasionally to have a religious significance, or is practised for superstitious reasons. It is, for instance, said to make a child fearless. Other races again say that it strengthens the skin and prevents the catching of infectious diseases. Salt has always been considered a great cleanser and purifier, both physical and spiritual. Salt-water baths, whether natural or artificial, are resorted to by peoples in Armenia, Bohemia and the West of Scotland, by the Mongolians and the Indo-Europeans, etc. Another custom, which has existed in most parts of the world, is that of anointing the

new-born child with oil or other fats. This sometimes replaces the water bath for cleansing purposes, but is often mainly a religious act ; thus, for instance, the anointing with oil in the Roman Catholic Church is said to indicate the spiritual conflicts which the baptised will overcome. Oil rubbed into a person's skin is thought to give strength and suppleness, and for this reason it is resorted to by some Boers, Arabs, Indo-Germans, Semites and others, and was also practised in ancient and modern India, by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and the Germans of the sixteenth century. Protection against heat and insect bites is often given as the reason for the application of oil by many races ; others say it is necessary for cleansing purposes. Butter, coco-nut oil and ointments made from fats are also frequently made use of for these purposes.

The ingredients put into the baby's bath for the sake of cleanliness, as well as for their supposed influence on the health and strength of the child, and perhaps also for religious reasons, are as varied as they are strange. Mention can only be made of some so widely different as honey, salt, pepper, soda, sand, yellow ginger, Fuller's earth, charcoal, dried myrtle leaves, red paint, plaster of Paris, powdered rose leaves, gall leaves and garlic (the latter is said to drive away demon spirits). Beer baths were resorted to in Germany and Holland and wine baths were used by the Greeks and Romans. In some counties of England babies are bathed in gin straight after birth. This custom, as well as another one, viz., that of bathing a child in urine, has its parallel among

savages of the present day. The Swiss child is bathed in milk and water, and the Mongolians even use mother's milk.

The temperature of a baby's bath is not at all influenced by climatic conditions, and cold baths are administered to babies by people living in the cold as well as in the hot regions of the earth. Indeed some peoples, such as the Ostyaks for instance, go even farther and wash their new-born babies in iced water or rub them down with snow. This is done to harden the child and get it accustomed to the harsh climate. Among some of the peoples that give their babies cold-water baths, mention can be made of the Lapps, Indians, Old Persians, Medes, ancient Germans, Romans, Greeks, Kaffirs, Hottentots, Philippine Islanders and Sandwich Islanders and many others.

It is of course only natural that so many races should resort to cold water for the washing of their children, since they have no conveniences for heating the water. This applies particularly to migratory tribes. Among these the expectant mother on the march goes to the side of the nearest stream, gives birth to her child, then enters the water, bathes herself and her baby, and hurries back to overtake the other members of her tribe.

One of the main reasons for giving a child a cold bath is to harden it, and some of the ancient races followed the Spartan method of deeming a child not fit to live if it could not stand this ordeal. This attempt at hardening resulted in so many deaths, that as early as the second century after Christ a

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Roman physician upbraided people for following the example of the Germans of carrying a baby, yet warm from its mother's womb, to a stream for the purpose of dipping it into cold water. This endangered the child's life, though it was intended to harden it. That the purpose of hardening is primarily the reason for these cold baths can be deduced from the fact that many of these peoples give their babes warm or hot baths afterwards, while some people sponge the child down with cold water after a warm bath. The ancient Indians thought that cold water made a new-born baby breathe more freely.

The use of lukewarm and hot baths by savage and civilised people all over the world is not dependent on climate, and their frequency is a matter of custom and tradition. While some people think one bath a day sufficient for a baby, others consider two or three daily baths necessary to keep it clean and sweet. The old Romans gave their children three baths a day in the first year, and after that two baths with a rubbing-in of oil in place of the bath given at midday.

Modern hygiene decrees that from birth a child should be given a bath at a temperature 98° to 100° (that is blood temperature) once a day, either morning or evening, and one thorough sponging down with warm water, either before it is put to sleep for the night or first thing in the morning. It is a mistake to give a baby too many hot baths, but it is a still greater mistake to be afraid, as so many people are, of bathing and washing children in times

of illness. Care should be taken that the child is not exposed to any draughts, but otherwise a sponging, even a quite cold one, is one of the best remedies in cases of fever, and will soon reduce a high temperature.

2. Clothing

Theories and beliefs about the quantity and quality of the wrappings and coverings are as varied as are those about baths. Here again the state of civilisation cannot be deduced from the manner in which a child is or is not wrapped up ; nor does the quantity of clothing depend on climatic conditions, as can be seen from the fact that some peoples living in the cold zones, leave their children completely or almost completely naked. This would seem to contradict prevalent belief among civilised peoples that a new-born baby is peculiarly sensitive to changes of temperature and must always be kept very warm. It may be, however, that the children of civilised peoples are not so hardy as the others.

Mention can only be made of a few of the peoples that keep their babies naked, e.g. the Hottentots, the Kaffirs, the Malay Polynesian races, the Arabs, the Eskimos and some of the poorer population of Japan. Apart from the fact that some of the elder people do not indulge in a superfluity of clothing, but go about in a state of nature, with sometimes only a blanket wrapped round them, it must be noted that many races believe it is healthier for a baby to have no wrapping at all, but to be allowed the full freedom of body and limbs without any

restrictions. Thus the Cingalese children are left naked until the age of twelve. They wear only a bright string knotted round the waist and carrying a charm or coin. Rich people hang a coin of value to show that their children are naked by choice and not because they are too poor to have clothes. Chains with amulets are worn round the waist by many naked babies of other races, and they serve as protection against evil spirits. These babies, unhampered by any clothing, are said to develop quickly, and they walk and run about at a very early age. It has been said, however, that many of them suffer from umbilical rupture, owing to their not wearing a binder at first; this very frequently occurs among the negroes of the Gold Coast and New Guinea, among the Fiji and Sandwich Islanders, and other races whose children have worn no binders.

In opposition to this belief in the benefit of nakedness we find the contrary one just as prevalent that a child must be tightly swaddled and wrapped up in order to have straight limbs. In fact some babies are swaddled, so that their backs should be supported, till they look like mummies. This is carried out to such an extent that the baby cannot move hand or foot. Rousseau said of the French method of swaddling their babies: "The first presents we give a child are fetters." The usual method seems to be to bind arms and legs to the body. Thus among the lower classes in Dalmatia the baby is wrapped from head to toe, and hands and feet are bound to the cover or pillow, so that it

should not scratch its eyes out or do itself an injury. In Russia and Poland three binders are used ; one is wound round feet, legs and lower body ; the second, folded triangularly, goes round the upper part of the body ; and the third and largest wraps the whole body and head with the exception of the face. In Astrachan the child is so placed in a feather pillow that it can scarcely breathe. The Swedish peasant of the Middle Ages wrapped a new-born baby with arms close to the body in two linen and two woollen covers, and outside this a binder was several times crossed round the baby, who thus lay quite stiff and absolutely unable to move. In parts of Germany it was the custom to put the following articles of clothing on the poor little baby : Firstly, the navel binder and napkin ; then it was swaddled in bandages, over this came shirt, neck-cloth, coat, bib, cap, and finally it was put on to a long bolster pillow with part of which it was covered, and on which it was carried about. In Persia and Bagdad the child's arms are firmly bound to the body for the first six weeks. The Anglo-Saxons, Greeks, Romans and Hebrews, all bound their babies in some form of swaddling clothes. In Turkey the child is so tightly bound as almost to bring on congestion, and its face appears abnormally red on account of this. The reason given for this is that the child shall have regular limbs, straight as a candle. The Eskimo sew their older babies into innumerable layers of clothing. When one considers these two extremes, nakedness and overclothing, that are considered necessary for the health of a

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new-born baby, one cannot but marvel at the hardness of the babies that have to endure all these forms of torture.

Looser wrappings, consisting of binders wound round and round the abdomen, and lighter coverings in general are used by many races, civilised and savage. Skins of animals also have been in use for babies. Thus in Western Australia opossum skins are tied with cords of opossum hair to the hand and foot joints of the child ; by this means the child will become handsome and brave.

In England the present custom is to give as much freedom to a baby as possible, with no restrictions whatever upon its limbs. In order to allow the child to kick about to its heart's content, many people have given up the long clothes generally used for the first few months ; the baby's things should only be about six to nine inches longer than the body. A modern medical authority on babies suggests the following clothes, which have the advantage of being both light and warm, as most fitting for a new-born baby : a binder (to keep dressing on the navel), this is not wound round and round the child, as is usual, but it is made of two pieces stitched together at the back, one wider to fold over in front and the narrower one with tapes to tie over the other in front also ; turkish towel napkin ; a light woollen vest with long sleeves for cold weather ; a flannel petticoat, which consists of two parts, i.e. a bodice with buttons round the waist on to which the skirt part with button-holes is buttoned, so that it can be taken off easily in case

it should get wet, without the upper clothes of the baby needing to be removed ; and a light woollen or silk day- and night-dress. All these fasten in the front by means of tapes or ribbons. Thus, when the child has to be dressed, the clothes are placed one on top of the other in due order and the child's arms are just slipped into the sleeves ; it can then lie comfortably on its back whilst everything is tied up, and there is no need constantly to turn it about, first to fasten something at the back and then at the front and so on.

It almost seems as if it were more usual to leave little children naked than babies, for as soon as the child can walk alone, it is free from even the wrap by which it was to a certain extent bound to its mother. This period of nakedness varies greatly, sometimes lasting into the third year, sometimes longer, and in some cases even up to puberty. It hardly seems necessary once more to give a list here of the many races which allow their children to go about naked. In some cases it is only the poorer classes whose children wear no clothes, as for instance among the Hindus, also the lower classes of ancient Egypt, and the modern descendants of the old Egyptians, the Fellahs, whose children only wear, up to the seventh or tenth year, a girdle round the hips made from the veins of the date palm. In some of the villages of South-Western Persia the children go about naked even in winter, and only wear a heavy head-dress, composed of bits of cloth, glass beads and amulets. Girdles of beads, leaves, plaited strings, etc., necklaces and bracelets are

worn by children of many races, and it would seem as if the savage mind tends to decoration first. It is a case of beauty before use. Loin cloths and short aprons tied round the waist are the only articles of what might be called clothing worn by the children of Dutch New Guinea, British New Guinea, Samoa and many other countries. These aprons sometimes cover only the front of the body, leaving the back exposed, or vice versa. Little skirts made of palm leaves are the first garments worn by the children of Nairu.

In the villages of Russia as well as in many other places, it is quite usual to see children running about clad only in a shirt. And often enough when the shirt goes to the wash the child must be satisfied with its own skin, or remain in the house. It is only in winter that any other clothing is put on.

In China the clothes of the rich children are very elaborately made of silks of bright colours, the poorer children have, however, only cotton garments. The Japanese child is also dressed like the grown-up people after it is four years old. Amongst European races the children are dressed like their elders, except that the clothes are generally short, only coming up to the knee.

3. Feeding

The human mother, like all mammalian mothers, furnishes the necessary nourishment for her newborn baby. Under normal healthy conditions the baby is therefore not in great danger of being ill-treated through ignorance or superstition. But even

around this primitive function of suckling hosts of regulations and taboos have arisen, which must be rigidly adhered to in order to protect the baby from any harm. Thus among various peoples all over the world it is considered detrimental to put the child to the breast until some time has elapsed after birth. The time varies from one night to about fourteen days; the third day is the most usual. This latter custom may be explained by the fact that the milk yielded by the mother's breast for the first three days (called colostrum) is too rich in fats and sugar, and disagrees with the child. It is more difficult to find an explanation for the longer period of waiting, unless it may be that the mother is generally considered unclean and taboo for some time after her confinement, her milk therefore being held to be injurious to the baby. Thus among the Kaffirs the medicine man makes incisions into the mother's breast close to the nipples, a few days after the birth, and doctors her milk with the same medicine that he has previously rubbed into scarified spots on the child, to protect it against risks; only then may the baby take its first drink from the mother's breast.

Among some races, ancient and modern, the belief has existed that a child needs no food for the first few days of its life, as it is still replete with nourishment from the mother's body; but, in general, it is customary to give a baby some artificial food during the time previous to its being put to its mother's breast. Some people, like the Romans, the Armenians and certain other races in

Lower Congo, give the baby to a woman other than the mother, to be suckled during the prescribed time of waiting.

In Rome butter was the first food given to the new-born baby, and this is still customary in Abyssinia, some parts of India, and many other places. Honey (which has a religious and also a symbolical meaning for many peoples) was used by the Greeks and Romans as food for their babies during the first few days ; and this custom is still kept up in other countries. The new-born babies in Germany and Persia, in Samoa and the Fiji Isles, are fed with sugar-water and the juice of the sugar-cane ; the milk of the coco-nut supplies nourishment for the babies in some parts of India.

It is really remarkable that so many babies manage to survive, seeing the strange solid foods which are administered to them before they have their first normal meal of mother's milk. Thus among the old Indians, and at present among the Basutos, millet is the first food that a baby receives ; the Russians and Esthonians, before putting their babies to the breast, give them a sucking-bag containing bread and sugar or some chewed black bread ; the Kalmuck baby receives a cooked pig's tail to suck and some tea to drink ; and the Arnos stick a piece of salted fish into the child's mouth.

Seeing that the mother's milk is the most accessible food and needs no preparation before being given to a baby, it might be thought that whenever possible, mothers would suckle their own children. Yet all over the world, among peoples of all degrees

of civilization, we find that women refuse to nurse their children, and instead give them over to wet-nurses, or resort to artificial foods. Some of the many excuses given for this practice are : physical incapacity, want of time on account of work, fear of losing beauty, or the pride of class or riches. In France the custom of resorting to wet-nurses is more general than in any other country ; and this is particularly the case in Paris, where it is customary to take a wet-nurse into the house or to send the baby to one in the country. As far back as the twelfth century there existed bureaux for the engagement of wet-nurses. In Munich and other parts of Germany the same state of affairs is to be found. The wet-nurses leave their own babies only a few weeks after birth, to the babies' great injury, so eager are they to earn money. The ancient Indians also kept wet-nurses ; some children of the nobility had as many as eight. Amongst the rich Anglo-Saxons, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Egyptians and Hebrews of old times, it was customary to use servants and slaves as wet-nurses. The modern Greek woman of the upper classes does not suckle her child, for she is afraid of spoiling her figure and injuring her health ; and in Samara in Russia the mothers of noble rank also give their babies over to wet-nurses. In China the social position of people ordains whether they shall have a wet-nurse or not.

The choice of a wet-nurse thus becomes a matter of great importance, and people have been known to pay fabulous prices for a healthy nurse. The belief still exists, that the qualities of the person suckling

a baby can be transmitted to it, and therefore care must be taken that the chosen nurse has no essentially bad qualities. Thus Tacitus protested against the custom of having wet-nurses, affirming that the reason Rome had had eminent men previously and not in his time, was because the mothers had themselves suckled their children and had not given them to slaves and inferiors to nurse. For this reason some people would rather give their babies artificial food than risk having a wet-nurse.

It frequently happens (as for instance among the Hottentots and the Arawaks of British Guiana) when a second child is born before the previous one is weaned, that the older is passed on to the grandmother to be suckled. The grandmothers are not always young and cases are also recorded where the old woman may not have suckled a child for many years and yet her milk has returned when a child has begun to suck. In Java old women suckling babies are not an infrequent sight.

There is no definite age for the weaning of babies. Among most European races, it is customary to start towards the end of the first year, and this is also the case among many savage races. But odd variations of this rule are to be found, which, on the one hand, limit the time of suckling to only about nine days, as amongst the Hamitic Kaffitsho, and on the other, extend it to as many as fifteen years. The latter occurs among the Eskimos of King William's Land, where it is nothing very unusual to see a lad of fifteen years on his return from the hunt go to his mother's breast for a drink. Between

these two extremes there are many gradations. Among different races both civilised and savage, two or more children may be suckled together. Sometimes the time for weaning varies for boys and girls. The chief reason for this drawing out of the period of suckling is the hope (often found fallacious) of preventing another conception. Sometimes the main reason for the long suckling is the belief that it strengthens a child to have its mother's milk as long as possible.

In order to give the child a distaste for the mother's breast, when the time for weaning arrives, the Armenians and Tartars rub the breast with cow-dung, pitch, or a brew of bitter herbs. The Romans painted the nipples with bitter stuffs ; various other unpleasant and evil-smelling preparations are used for this purpose.

Weaning is often a ceremonial act. The Hebrews celebrated this by a feast and sacrificial offerings, and the Romans dedicated the first meal and first glass of milk to a godhead. Among many races feasts and the presentation of gifts are frequent on this occasion.

Superstitions are to be found in connection with weaning as with every important event in life. Thus in Catalonia, if a child refuses to be weaned, the mother fills a sack with small stones, one of which she daily throws into flowing water in the child's presence. It is more certain of effect if the child's hand can be guided to throw them in. When all the stones have thus been disposed of, the child is weaned. The Serbian woman, wishing to stop her

flow of milk, sticks a pin into the front of her chemise, which she puts on in the reverse way, so that the front goes to the back. A child suckled after this becomes a fearsome witch who could throw a rider off his horse with one glance.

Some connection between weaning and agriculture seems to exist in the popular mind. In Silesia a child must not be weaned during the flowering of the trees, for it would soon have grey hair ; this belief is also to be found among other peoples. The Russian child must not be weaned before three Lenten fasts. In some parts of Switzerland a child should be weaned under a nut-tree, so that it should not have toothache. These are all evidently examples of the belief in sympathetic magic.

Animal milk, being most akin to human milk, is substituted as the chief food for babies that are not suckled by their mothers or human nurses. For this purpose animals often serve as foster-mothers, the children being put directly to suck at the udder. Many Hottentots, for instance, tie a baby under the belly of a goat for this purpose. It is said that the animal often is fonder of the baby than of its own young, and will come to the door of the hut and let the child creep under and suck till completely satisfied. It then trots away to graze and returns again in a few hours. In Paris it was customary up till lately, to put delicate children from the " *Hôpital des enfants assistés* " to be suckled by donkeys. The old myth of Remus and Romulus being suckled by a wolf is well known to most people.

The milk of animals such as cows, sheep, goats,

donkeys and reindeer, forms the staple food of babies among many races, too numerous to mention. Some, such as the Swedes and Finns and the Lapps of some districts, give sour milk to their babies. Desiccated milk, which generally agrees well with babies, is often used among Western races. Babies also thrive well on humanised milk, which should be sterilised. Milk bottles are, of course, unknown to many peoples all over the world. In place of these, the horn of an ox is used ; into this the milk is poured and the teat of a cow udder is attached to it, to enable the child to suck. This custom is to be met with in Russia, and among the Mongolians. In some of the forest districts of Sweden the horn is filled with sour milk.

Among many races more solid food is considered necessary. This takes the form of melted butter, as amongst the Aryan and non-Aryan Indians, the Tartars and many races in Africa ; honey, amongst the ancient Greeks and Icelanders ; rice, amongst the Persians, Japanese, Siamese and many other races. Porridge made of flour, or of wheat, barley, etc. ; rolls or some form of biscuits are also greatly in use for babies among many European races as well as savages. The method of feeding the child often seems quite cruel, as the child has generally to be forced to take the food. This is done by pushing as much as possible down the child's mouth with the fingers, so that it oozes out covering mouth and nose, until the poor mite is almost suffocated and falls asleep from sheer exhaustion after the struggle. Yet still more solid food administered to babies

takes the form of bananas, water melon, sago, coco-nut and other fruits and roots, which are given raw, or previously either chewed, roasted or dried and pressed. Fish, meat and pieces of fat are given to the baby to suck or chew by the Icelanders, Lapps, Finns, Eskimos, etc. Even alcoholic drinks are given in some parts of Germany, France and Switzerland as well as by some of the negro races.

Many of the above mentioned foods are given to babies as additional nourishment by peoples who think that milk is insufficient food ; and, as is often the case, when the mother has too much work to do, and has not time to suckle the baby every time it needs it. The death rate of babies thus fed on all manner of artificial foods which they cannot possibly digest, and which they very often receive from insanitary utensils, is naturally tremendous ; but it is marvellous how much a child can stand, and how many children survive in spite of it.

The food which a child is given after it is weaned is also very similar in composition to that mentioned above ; no special mention need therefore be made here. Among western races it is customary to start on light diet, the main ingredient of which is still milk, cooked into puddings, etc., juice of fruits, eggs and gravy from meat. More solid food is given as the child gets its teeth.

4. Conveyance

The degree of civilisation attained by a race can be gauged to some extent by noting the preparation made for the physical comfort of a new-born child

As mentioned before, the scarcity of a child's clothing does not necessarily prove the want of civilisation on the part of the parents. The food supply is also dependent on conditions of soil and climate round the child's home ; so here again we can hardly judge. But the contrivances for the carrying of babies, for their places of rest and so on, are bound to show some forethought and ingenuity, and naturally become more complete and suitable for their purpose, when the resources of civilisation are brought to bear on their construction. The simplest, most primitive method of providing a resting-place for a baby is just to lay it on the ground, either with nothing underneath the child or with some layers of material to protect it. This is the custom among the Guinea negro races, the Kalmucks and many more. Others, such as the people of Chinese Turkestan, etc., dig holes in the ground, which are covered with ashes ; in these the child is placed ; while some races, like the Hottentots, put their babies to sleep in the ashes of the hearth. The travelling gipsies of Transylvania bed their newly born on straw and dung. The next step seems to be taken by the women of Hawaii who use mats on the ground for their babies to sleep on. Mention should also be made of some isolated instances of people in South Caucasus who put their babies to sleep in the stable. It is, of course, quite customary all the world over for the mother to take the baby to sleep with her, but this has entailed such a tremendous loss of child life through the over-laying of the body by the mother, that it is

falling into abeyance in most countries with European civilisation. In England it has been made a punishable offence. Hammocks, nets, boxes and baskets are to be found in use for babies amongst races of lower and higher culture, and were also used by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Often they are suspended from the ceiling or, when out of doors, from a tree. Perhaps this is the origin of the nursery rhyme "Hush-a-bye baby, on the tree top." Some contrivance of rope or pole keeps this form of cradle in motion. The rind of trees, such as the birch, is hollowed out into the shape of a boat, finished off with crosier rods, and makes a bed for the babies of the Bashkirks and other peoples. The Lapps use a leather-covered box for this purpose. One advantage in some of these various forms of baby beds is that the child can be carried about in them wherever the mother wishes to go. Very little nursing can be done by the mothers who have to work hard, so that it sometimes happens that the baby is not lifted up for a whole day. Very often it is strapped in such a manner that it cannot move at all. In order still more to lighten the mother's work, many of these cradles have contrivances for allowing the excreta of the child to drop out. Among many races, particularly the Indians of North America, it is usual to lash the child for long periods to cradles which are made of stiff boards with sometimes a hood of skin or bark. This is to form the flat head so greatly admired by them. Real cradles on rockers seem to have been used by the ancient Greeks, Romans, Germans and English of the Middle

Ages, and are used all over the world, although this custom is slowly dying out, as so many doctors disapprove of the constant dulling of the child's senses in this manner. It certainly seems unwise to get the baby so accustomed to being rocked that it cannot go to sleep any other way, and thus becomes the tyrant of the household. George Stephenson connected the cradle with the roasting-jack, so that when it was turned by the draught, the cradle was brought into motion. A parallel to this is to be found in the Bavarian Alps, where the cradle is tied to the tail of a cow. When the latter tries to drive the flies off with its tail, the cradle is rocked. Cradles, of course, vary from the simplest box on rockers to the most elaborate, decorated ones. In Europe cradles are not now so much in use, but have been replaced by cots which are also decorated to welcome the new baby.

The belief in sympathetic magic, so frequently mentioned in previous chapters, once more comes into evidence here, as shown in the following examples. Thus in North England, Scotland, Germany and China there is a superstition that it will be injurious to the baby to rock an empty cradle. In Italy the rocking of an empty cradle is said to cause the baby stomach-ache. The Maronites say that it gives a baby backache. In one church in Germany there was a silver cradle which sterile women used to rock in the hope of thus becoming fruitful. There also exists a belief in North Riding that the cradle should be kept upside down until the baby is put into it; this prevents other beings (possibly

evil ones) from sleeping therein. The first cradle must also be paid for, before it is brought over the threshold. In several other places it is feared that if the bedding of the cradle is opened out, the child's grave is also opened out, so that, as soon as the baby is taken out, the covering must be at once put back. The most usual way amongst savages and even many European races is for the mother to carry the baby on her back, when out of doors. This makes it possible for the mothers to go about their occupations unhindered ; this would be impossible if they had to hold the baby in their arms, or even to wheel it in some form of baby cart, as our mothers do. Thus the Serbian peasant, working in the field, puts her child in a woollen pocket hung on her back ; this is also the custom among some Indian tribes. Very frequent seems to be the use of a bandage or shawl which is slung over one shoulder and round the hips, and into which the baby is placed. The mantle or wrap, the hood, or, as in Japan, the gown of the mother is used for this purpose. In fact, every sort of contrivance is to be found for the carrying of the child on the back. Baskets, nets, bags, sacks, bark of trees, boards, are all brought into service ; the child is put in naked in some cases, in others it is wrapped in fur. These are sometimes suspended round the neck, round the shoulders, the waist, and even from a band round the forehead. The Eskimo women carry their babies in their hoods or in the top of their wide fur shoes. Among a number of races children ride on the hip of the mother or round her neck.

In some of the Cantons of Switzerland the mother balances her baby's cradle on her head when out of doors. In China they use a kind of chair on rollers in which the child sits, and which has a little table in front to which toys and rattles can be attached. This, however, can only be used for an older baby. It is customary in Germany to carry the baby about on a long pillow like a bolster; the lower part is brought over as a covering and tied round, thus forming a kind of padded sack for the child. The modern form of perambulator was invented in England, and it seems to have attained the acme of comfort for the baby, and ease in propelling for the mother.

CHAPTER III

THE HEALTH OF THE CHILD

1. General Health

If we stop to consider how great is the superstitious belief in demons, magic, etc., we cannot be surprised to find that the health or illness of children is thought to be so greatly dependent on their benevolent or baneful influence. Even where there is no distinct fear of definite demons there still exist some vague feelings that fate can be influenced by certain rites and procedures to deal favourably with the child. There can be little doubt that these, as well as so many of the previous ones mentioned in earlier parts of this book, are the result of the belief in sympathetic magic. Many of the traditional ideas about what is good for the welfare of children are really based on these superstitious beliefs, and they pass down from mother to daughter without any question of their rationality. How else could one explain the custom of throwing silver coins or something similar into the first bath of a baby, so that it shall never be short of money. The bath water, after it has been used, is also believed to have some magical power over the baby. In Switzerland it is thought that if a baby drinks a little of its own bath water, it will learn to

speaking early and well. The towel with which the baby is first dried is tied on to a tree for six weeks, so that the child shall become a good climber. In Bohemia the bath water of a boy is given to a horse to drink, and that of a girl is given to a cow, so that the children should later on take good care of these animals. In Poland the midwife or the mother licks the back of the child before the bath and then spits out three times on to the stove. This is done for the first six weeks and will protect the child from wasting. To give the child rosy cheeks it is smeared with blood from the navel. The clothes coming into such intimate contact with children will naturally be thought to affect their well-being. There exists a rather amusing custom in some parts of Germany of wrapping a new-born boy in a girl's shirt, and vice versa ; by this means they will have luck with the opposite sex. The wearing of the father's shirt in the first days will also bring certain advantages in the future. The wearing of red shoes is said to be bad, as the child will not be able later on to look on blood.

There are also regulations for the washing and drying of the baby's clothes, so that the child should not be injured in any way. Thus the clothes of a baby under one year old should not be hung out to dry in the open after sunset, otherwise the child might die. In Switzerland the napkins must not be dried in the sun before baptism, or the child will be bewitched.

Amongst the Ruthenians in Galicia it is forbidden to beat a little girl's clothes with the clothes-dolly

so that her husband should not beat her afterwards. In Jamaica they do not like baby's clothes to be rubbed, for fear that the little one should get pains in the stomach.

The spirits are generally on the alert to work mischief when a baby is asleep, and therefore precautions must be taken against them. The Russians blow snuff into the baby's nose to make it sleep. The Kamshadals think that if a child is restless in the night, it is plagued by dead people, because it has not received the right name. The Bantus in Congo say that a child will be frightened out of its sleep if it looks into a mirror. In Silesia an empty cradle must not be rocked, as a child loses its rest if this is done. If a stranger goes out of a house in Serbia he must "give the child its sleep." This is done by taking a piece of paper from him, putting it at the child's side and saying, "Sleep, as I shall sleep."

Great importance is attached to the first visit made by a new-born baby, and it is quite customary to present it with something which has some symbolic value. Eggs, bread and salt are all said to have some mystical influence on the life of human beings, so that it is not surprising to discover that these are most frequently presented to the baby on its first visit. In North England the egg which the baby receives, is supposed to be saved, as it represents the future happiness of the child. In Yorkshire the present takes the form of a new-baked loaf, salt and a silver coin (for riches ?) ; in Leicestershire it is an egg, a pound of salt and a of box matches.

These gifts are supposed to ensure that the child shall never stand in need of the ordinary necessities of life. Eastern people give the new-born baby chocolate or sugar to sweeten its future life. In Belgrade the gift consists of an egg and sugar. In Serbia, however, it is not thought wise to give an egg, as it will make the little one always stare at its hands and play with them.

Apart from their importance at the first visit, the partaking of egg, bread and salt at other times is often considered to have effect on the child's future welfare. Thus in Vogtland children should not eat eggs, or they will become chatterboxes. In another district the bread given to a baby by its godparent is saved for a year ; if it keeps sweet during that time the baby will thrive ; should it become mouldy the child will die. Bread is put under a baby's cradle in Bohemia, so that it shall never be in need. In Bavaria a child that partakes of the first egg of a hen, will learn to sing well. In some districts of Czecho-Slovakia it is believed that a child will some day break one of its limbs if the egg given to it on its first visit is broken.

Almost everything surrounding the new-born child is thought to influence its future welfare ; even the behaviour to the child of those who have it in their care has some indirect influence. For instance, the tent-gipsies of Transylvania do not consider it wise to kiss a child before its christening, as the kiss might draw the soul out of its body. And in Mecklenburg there exists the belief that the mother must be the first to kiss the new-born girl

baby, and the father the boy baby, as otherwise the girl would have a beard, and the boy would be beardless.

Care must be taken where a baby is carried. In Switzerland a child less than six months old is not to be carried over running water, as it might waste away, and a year-old child must not be seated on a boundary stone, as it might be hindered in its growth. In Suffolk a new-born baby is immediately carried upstairs, so that it may become rich and respected (on high !). Where there are no stairs someone stands on a chair with the baby. In Pennsylvania and North America the new-born is carried up a ladder. This is said to give the child " high thoughts " in later life. Mention is made of a case where the baby had a gold dollar in one hand, and in the other a tiny copy of the New Testament, so that it should become both rich and pious.

As a rule rain is thought to have a beneficial effect on mankind and little English children are often told to go out in the rain as it will make them grow ; but in other places to carry a child out in the rain is said to cause it to have freckles. In Karlsbad this is especially the case when the sun has shone through the rain, as then the devil beats his grandmother.

Mirrors seem to have magical significance almost everywhere. Perhaps this may be explained by the fact that the mirror holds within itself something of the personality of the one looking into it, and thus a fear arises that it may injure the person. In North England a child of less than a year must not look into a mirror. In different parts of Germany and

Switzerland it is also held unwise to let a baby of less than a year look into a mirror ; it will become vain, or it will learn to speak with difficulty, or become a fool, or it may see something extraordinary in later life, or it may even die soon.

The counting and measuring of children is believed to be very unlucky. In Congo it is said that if children are counted, the evil spirits might hear and carry one off ; even in England parents have been annoyed to hear of their children being counted in school. Possibly there may be some connection between this fear and the nonsense counting in children's games, as most of these games are based on old customs and superstitions. Eastern people do not permit their children's teeth to be counted. The fact that pointing at a person is considered to be a mark of ill-breeding may also have had its origin in the fear of drawing the unwelcome attentions of the demon world to that person. In the same way, to measure or weigh a child is considered unlucky, possibly because the wicked spirits might notice how well it was thriving and put a stop to it. This fear seems to be fairly widespread. In many places in Europe it is believed that a child that has been weighed or measured will not grow any more ; in Madagascar to measure the waist of a child will prevent its further growth. Not only is the measuring of a child thought to have evil consequences, but even the trying of shoes or dress on a baby less than a year old might bring about its death. This belief existed among the ancient Mexicans and is still in existence in some parts of middle Europe.

Another superstition which is very prevalent almost all over the world is that it will hinder a child in its general growth and development if someone strides over it, or if it creeps between a person's outstretched legs. For the same reason children are not allowed to creep under carriages or between wheels. The only remedy, if this has occurred, is to reverse the process by letting the child creep back again in the opposite direction. To pass a child through a window also has bad effects, according to many races. The Swiss and some Germans say that a child will become a thief, if it is passed through a window ; this belief is also found amongst the negroes in Jamaica.

There exist many more superstitions of a similar kind, which it is impossible to enumerate here. Special mention, however, must be made of the mystical importance attached to the hair, nails and teeth of children. The hair on the head was in olden times considered to be the seat of life. The story of Samson, whose vitality left him after Delilah had shorn off his hair, exemplifies this belief. Nowadays it is often said that the strength of a delicate woman has all gone into her hair, and there is also a saying "long hair, short understanding," which must have a similar foundation. The hair is also thought to be a refuge for the soul. For example, among the Toradgos of Central Celebes, all but one lock of hair is shorn off the child's head ; this is left, so that the soul shall have an abode ; otherwise the child will sicken.

Even after the hair is off the head, it is still thought

to have intimate connection with the owner. The Zulus, who completely shave the heads of the boys, believe that a boy will not grow if his hair is not buried in the damp soil or ash heap. This also helps growth of hair by sympathetic action. No enemy can then get at it to work magic and injure the child.

Hair was often offered up as a sacrifice in place of the head of a person. The Greek slaves covered their master's corpse with their shaved hair. This was in lieu of being killed to accompany their master to his future destination, as had been the custom previously. Among the modern Greeks it is still customary to cut off some of the child's hair at its christening and to throw it into the baptismal font. This seems to be a survival of the old sacrificial ceremonial, modified by Christian beliefs. The Bulgarians also combine a hair offering with baptism. Among various negro tribes the magicians, priests and medicine men are considered to have the right to the first hair cut off a baby's head. They represent the fetish god of the tribe, the life-giver, and as such are entitled to the symbol of life, the hair. The magicians have especial rights to the child's hair, if they have saved the mother's life.

The custom of not cutting a child's hair for some time after birth seems to be based on the same superstition that the strength, vitality, soul, etc. reside in the hair. Among the Israelites, if a child's hair was unshorn, it was a sign that the child was dedicated to God. As an example of this we have the story of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, who vowed to God that, should she have a son, no

scissors should touch his hair. In Syria a child with long hair is dedicated to God. At a certain age the hair is cut, weighed and money is paid in proportion to the weight. If the child is a Christian, he becomes a monk; if a Moslem, he becomes a Dervish. In Switzerland to cut a child's hair before its seventh year is said to hinder the child from gaining any strength; and if the first cut hair is burnt, the child will not thrive. Also, the hair must not be combed in the morning, so that the child shall not have a bad day and come under the spell of wicked people. In some places such as Madagascar and Java the natives do not even allow the hair to be combed or attended to in any way, so that it becomes a clotted mass. The child's guardian spirit resides in its hair and must not be disturbed; also the protection of certain goblins and ancestral spirits is thus ensured. The Bohemians say that if a child's hair is cut off in its first year, its intelligence is also cut off. In Bohemia and East Russia the hair must only be brushed and not combed in the first year; otherwise the baby will die. In our own country we often find mothers fearful of cutting their babies' hair or even of removing the dandruff. The explanation given by them is that the child would catch cold, but this can hardly be the real reason. It is more likely that the old superstition lingers on, for which a rational explanation has to be found. The contrary belief that a child's life can be saved by cutting off all the hair but a single lock is to be found among the Mohammedans in India.

A very widespread custom is to allow a child's hair to grow long, if the older sisters or brothers have died ; for this is believed to protect its life. In Central Java it is also said to preserve the child from sickness and other misfortunes, and to ensure success in undertakings in later life. When the child has shed its milk teeth, the hair is cut and burned. This is an occasion for ceremonial gatherings and festivities. In some parts of India parents who have lost many children endeavour to propitiate the patron saint by vowing that should a child be preserved to them, they will let its hair grow. When the child is three, five or seven years old it is taken to the temple to have its hair cut. There also exists the opposite custom of cutting off a child's hair at the death of older children.

Religious significance is attached to the first time the hair is shorn by both Christians and other peoples. Frequently the namesgiving and the choosing of godparents occur at the same time. In the Greek Church the hair was cut in the form of a cross on the head immediately after the child had been baptised and anointed. The cut hair was kept by the priest in some holy place or was given to the godfather, who bound it together with wax and hung it on a crucifix as a symbol of the child's dedication to Christ. This custom still exists among some people of the present day.

Very frequently it is the godfather that first cuts the child's hair either at baptism or on some other ceremonial occasion. This is thought to bring about a spiritual relation between godparent and

godchild, even more binding than the physical one. This is so much the case that among the Southern Slavs this bond is considered a bar to marriage as would be a blood relationship.

The namesgiving and haircutting or shaving takes place at various ages according to the traditions of the race. A thanksgiving feast is often held on the same day. This occurs among the Japanese on the thirtieth day after birth. The same day is chosen by the Mongols of Canton and others. The ancient Romans combined the first haircutting with the naming. The ancient Chinese celebrated both these important functions at the end of the third month with many quaint formalities which had a certain religious significance. In Poland the first hair was cut when the child attained its seventh year ; at the same time the child received a name, or its old one was changed. Among some races this ceremony is not performed until puberty, and usually there is great feasting and presentation of gifts. In Uganda the hair is not cut until the child has a name. Should it be rubbed off or plucked accidentally it is refastened with string or knotted to other hair.

Haircutting is a symbol that the child has been recognised as a member or a future member of a tribe amongst the Malays or some of the Islands, and other races. This also seems to be the case among the Indians, where quite an elaborate ritual is performed. The age at which this takes place varies from one to seven years according to the castes to which it belongs. Haircutting may also be a

symbol of a child's adoption into a family. The hair is not always shaved or cut off completely, but we find that sometimes a little is left on the right side of the head and sometimes on the left. Sometimes the middle of the head only is shaved or the hair is cut in the shape of a cross or a half-moon. There always is some explanation found by the people for these various customs.

Superstitions about nails mainly centre round the time for paring them. It is a European rule that a child's nails should not be pared in the first year, but should be bitten off, as cutting them is supposed to expose the child to supernatural dangers.

The Welsh, Irish and many other people believe that if a child's nails are cut instead of bitten off in the first year, the child will become a thief. In some places, it is said that a child's luck is cut off with the nails, and in Silesia a child is supposed to become an idiot for the same reason. Others again say that the nails will not grow any more or grow crooked, if they are pared instead of being bitten off. The Hindus cut the nails of the first-born at the age of six months, whilst those of other children are only cut when they are one or two years old. Amongst the Indians of North West America the nails of female children are not cut until the child is four years old. Jewish people carefully collect the parings and throw them into the fire. This must be based on an old superstition, common among many primitive peoples, that the evil spirits must not get hold of any part of a person's body.

The fate of children seems to be closely connected

with their teeth in the superstitious belief of most races. In a previous chapter mention was made of the fact that children born with teeth are considered to bring bad luck to themselves and others and that sometimes they are even killed. In the same way it is popularly believed by many peoples of varying degrees of civilisation that it is dangerous for the upper teeth to appear before the lower. According to a Hindu belief a child whose upper jaw first shows teeth, will bring its mother's brother into serious danger. This relationship between the first teeth and the welfare of the child and its family was also believed in by the ancient Indians. Among some tribes in German East Africa a child whose upper teeth first broke through was said to be so unlucky to all around that it was killed ; even now this practice is carried on in secret. The Arabians read a part of the Koran to such a child, bend its head over the book, so that it appears to nod, and in this manner let it swear that it will not injure any of the family.

Many strange customs exist for easing the teething ; they are mainly based on the belief in sympathetic magic. The Serbians, to protect a baby from pain at this period, turn a key round in its mouth a few times and then put it in some place from which it can never be taken away. The child will then have teeth as strong as iron. The wearing of corals round the neck is thought to be a protection against painful teething. In Bohemia the mother kneels on her right knee when she first goes to church after the baby's birth, in order to

protect her child from toothache. Animal teeth, seeds, and other objects resembling teeth, are all believed to further easy teething and are hung round the children's necks. Amulets are also worn by children to protect them against toothache. It is quite customary to give presents to children at the appearance of their first teeth ; often the person who first sees the tooth is presented with a gift by the parents.

In all parts of the world there is to be found the superstition that a relationship exists between a child's teeth and some animal, chiefly the mouse. When the milk-teeth fall out, it is usual to throw each tooth to the mouse or even to put it into a mouse-hole, and some song is sung or rhyme recited which contains an appeal to the mouse for another strong tooth in its place. In Armenia it was and still is believed that the tutelary spirits of the hearth take the form of mice, and the teeth, hair and nails are offered to them on the hearth. This widespread custom may perhaps be in a similar manner explained, wherever it occurs.

Many explanations have been given for the practice of knocking out, filing or blacking the front teeth of children among some races. It is possible that here again there may be some religious reason, such as that of sacrifice, which has been forgotten during the ages and for which some other explanation had to be found. The fact that together with the operation of knocking out the teeth many festivities are held would almost lend credence to this idea. The Herero, as well as other races, say

that the purpose of this mutilation is to recognise each other as members of the same tribe. Primitive ideas of hygiene and beauty also seem to have been elements in the origin of this custom. The filing of the upper teeth in early years is also a sign of membership of the tribe among the Wakambas in British East Africa, as well as amongst the Malays at a certain period. The teeth are filed in various shapes. The Javanese give as reason for the knocking out and filing of the teeth that it makes the mouth look human and not like that of animals. Sometimes these operations are only performed on the boys, sometimes on the girls of the tribe.

It is interesting to note how often human beings are dissatisfied with the type of beauty bestowed on them by nature, and how often they try to improve on it by distorting and mutilating different organs of the body. The nose, perhaps because it is prominent, seems to receive a fair amount of attention. Attempts are made to narrow or flatten this feature. The nurses of aristocratic Bohemian children stroke the children's noses downwards between the fingers to make them narrow. The same custom is found among some Armenians who press the baby's nostrils together; in Russia also the nose is "pulled into the right shape." A flat nose is the ideal of beauty for the Samoans. The women consider a straight or aquiline nose disgusting and try to prevent their new-born babies from having such a defect. They constantly press the nose downwards until they have achieved the required result. In New Caledonia and elsewhere

the hands are dipped into hot water before squeezing the nose down to make the process more effective. In Tahiti this operation was connected with the ceremony of namesgiving. In the Polynesian Islands of Sumatra and Celebes, amongst the Maoris of New Zealand and others the same ideal of beauty is to be found.

A more drastic operation is that of nose-piercing and the inserting of ornaments in the holes thus made. Like the more prevalent customs of boring ears and lip, this not only serves an æsthetic purpose, but is also of social and religious significance. According to Frazer the fear of evil spirits and of their malicious behaviour has been one of the main causes for this practice. The aim seems to be either to make the new-born child distasteful to the spirits or to mislead them altogether. Thus in one case, if the first child dies, the nose of the second child is pierced as soon as it is born, and it is rolled in rubbish to become distasteful to Yama, the god of death. In India, where girls' noses are pierced, boys' noses are sometimes pierced to make them pass as girls with the demons. In New Guinea the piercing of nostrils and ears is thought to secure happiness to the owner's soul in the other world. Should a child die, the operation is quickly performed on the corpse, so that it should not be excluded from entry into the "good lands." The ornaments used for insertion into the hole are little sticks, round or flat discs of wood, tin, silver and bone, shells, rings of gold and silver. They are sometimes very heavy so that they pull the nostril down.

The age of the child at the time varies from fourteen days to ten years. Among some peoples only girls, among others only the boys, and again among others both sexes undergo the operation.

Mention has been made in a previous chapter that the boring of ears may originally have had a sacrificial purpose to ensure the life of the child and to protect it against the spirits. In India a boy's ear is often pierced as well as the nostril. The gold ear-ring must be begged from others to make the spirits believe that the parents are poor ; they will thus not bother about their child. Similarly the Hindu mother bites off a piece of her child's ear and swallows it ; in this way she saves the life of her child. This custom is to be found among the Tigris tribes of Abyssinia. The Babylonians, Persians and Medes used to wear ear-rings. These served them as amulets to protect them against magic sounds and also against the evil eye. A similar belief still exists in European lands that ear-rings prevent girls from having bad eyes. In Dravidian India the boring of ears is a religious act and is often performed on the day of naming the child. This seems to be the case in other places also.

Though the piercing of lips now seems only to have the purpose of beautifying a person by the wearing of ornaments, it must originally also have had a religious and social purpose. Among some Indians in British Columbia a short cylindrical piece of wood drawn through the lower lip is a sign of free birth. In ancient Mexico the piercing of lips took place in the temple on a feast day, when the

children were given godparents whose duty it was to initiate them in the service of the gods. The ornaments used for the ears and lips are very varied in material, size and weight ; rings, shells, flowers, leaves, berries, feathers, rolls of paper, or stiff bright ribbons, sticks, chains and bells of silver, beads, etc., are all taken in service. They are sometimes so large and heavy that they completely distort the shape of the ear and lip. Mention need only be made of the ear pendants worn by Assam girls which measure 8 inches.

A still more cruel mutilation, for which a similar explanation can be given, is that of amputating a child's finger at a joint. This occurs, for instance, among the Hottentots and Bushmen, particularly when an older child has died. In the East of Australia it is said that a girl whose amputated finger joint has been thrown into the sea will be successful at fishing. In the North West of Australia they say that the girls can more easily twist the fishing-line round their hands when the joint is cut off. Some of the Zulu tribes of Natal amputate the last joint of the little finger when children are six years old. This is a token of membership of the tribe and is supposed to make people brave and active.

Circumcision and similar operations are performed on boys and girls amongst all sections of humanity. They are nearly all religious ceremonies and originally must have replaced the human sacrifice.

Many other procedures are resorted to by primitive peoples, which seem to us cruel. Their main purpose seems to be to improve on nature according to a

preconceived ideal of beauty ; but frequently some other reason can be found similar to those so often mentioned previously. The most prevalent custom which is to be found almost all over the world is the artificial deformation of the skull. The instruments used for this purpose are very varied, as for instance tightly drawn hair bands, tight-fitting caps with metal apparatus inside for pressing the skull together, bandages of bark, dried earthen or clay moulds, sandbags, boards and boat-shaped cradles with apparatus for compressing the head. The periods during which the child undergoes this torture vary from a few days to the whole of its youth. This modelling of the head is possible because the soft skull of a child is very pliable. Round heads, long heads, heads pointed, flat, bullet-shaped, flattened at one or both sides, flattened foreheads, etc., all in their turn serve some ideal of beauty somewhere.

The deformation of the feet of Chinese girls is so well known that it is unnecessary to go into detail here. Fortunately this custom is dying out now. Similar practices are to be found elsewhere also.

Tattooing is generally considered a great aid to beauty. Here the saying is very apt : "*Il faut souffrir pour être belle.*" And yet in this case again we find deeper reasons for so painful a practice. Tattooing often stands as a sign of kingly descent, or of membership of a tribe ; it is sometimes the special privilege of the wives and daughters of chiefs ; it serves as a religious symbol and as a protection against magic, also as a prophylactic.

The designs used are generally symbolic and sometimes cover the whole body. Deeper scars are caused by rubbing various substances into the wounds ; this process raises and also darkens the scars so that they plainly stand off from the rest of the body. These also are thought to protect children against malicious influences. Thus amongst the negroes of St. Tongo if parents have lost several children, they believe that the same fate will overtake the new-born child. They therefore make as many cuts on the face of the child as they have lost children, saying at the same time : " It shall live."

2. Illness and Death

Illness, like all other extraordinary events of life, is greatly feared by primitive man. As no other explanation can be found for this apparently causeless occurrence, afflictions of all kinds are attributed to the machinations of demons, sorcerers, witches, the evil eye and other baneful influences. The procedure resorted to in the case of illness is therefore similar in type to that of magic. Demons are driven out by exorcism and incantations ; sorcery is counteracted by sorcery and magic. In ancient Indian literature nine demons are enumerated who make the children ill, and special formulas were used to ward them off. In Northumberland a weak child that does not thrive is said to be bewitched or " heartgrown." It is therefore taken before dawn to a smith of the seventh generation who puts the child on the anvil pretending to strike with his hammer as if he were working on the glowing iron,

but in reality only bumping it down very gently on to the child. This takes place three times and is very efficacious. Witches are also thought by the Slavs to bring about various children's diseases. They enter a house in the shape of butterflies or hens, strike the child on the left breast with a staff, making the breast open out, whereupon they tear out the heart of the sleeping child and devour it. The wound closes immediately without leaving any trace, but the child wastes away or dies. In Korea small-pox is supposed to be brought about by a wicked demon Ok-Sin. In Mexico some of the Indians rub ill children with seven different herbs and say, when the herbs crackle, that they hear the spirits screaming as they are being driven out of the child's body.

There are special witch doctors and magicians among savages whose function it is to drive away the evil spirits causing children's illnesses, by magic, incantations and potions. Among more modern people resource is taken to holy things. Thus in Norway an unfailing remedy against sickness of children is the holy wafer. A mother's confession is also believed to be a cure for a child's illness among German African negroes. Holy wells have always been said to have curative powers. In Scotland on the first of May mothers take their sick children to bathe in certain wells, and afterwards let the child throw in a coin or pebble as offering.

The close connection between the fate of human beings and that of trees has been alluded to in a

former chapter. Here we find it once more. In England, Germany and France ill children are drawn through a split tree, the root of a tree, stones, rocks, holes in the earth, bell ropes or other things, in order to cure them of their illnesses. In this way the illness is transferred from the child to the tree. In some parts of England the order of the procedure was as follows : the split in the tree must as nearly as possible go from east to west ; the performance must take place before dawn ; the child is to be quite naked ; the feet must come first, and the child turned round in the direction of the sun. This ceremony must take place three times, and then the hole is carefully closed and bound up. In Suffolk ill children, particularly those suffering from whooping-cough, are drawn through gooseberry or blackberry bushes. In Northumberland a child with the whoop is drawn under the belly and between the forelegs of a donkey, and there is a similar procedure in Donegal, Ireland, for curing croup.

Fire is considered a purifying agent and is supposed to have great curative powers. In ancient times a child with fever was put before an open fire or even in an oven. In Silesia instead of the sick child being put in the oven, a dough cast is made of it and shoved into the oven. Recovery is expected from this process. One of the most dreaded illnesses of childhood is " fits " or " convulsions." We know from the Bible that they were ascribed to some evil spirit which had to be exorcized in order to rid the sufferer of it. We find the same in the following examples. Thus in one case the godfather silently

turns the cradle round, or tears an unwritten sheet of paper or makes the sign of the cross three times over the cradle. A hymn-book under the head pillow is also expected to produce a cure. The Chinese tie a silk thread round the pulse of the suffering child, so that the sensitive spirit causing the trouble should be embraced.

Perhaps the reverse of this process is the one attempted for curing whooping-cough. In North-umberland, for example, a live trout is stuck into the troubled child's mouth so that it should "breathe in." Evidently a transference of the disease to the trout. In Suffolk a live frog serves this purpose, or the mother holds a spider found in her own house over the child's head, saying: "Spider, as you waste away, Whooping-cough no longer stay."

Numerous similar superstitious practices are to be found in connection with the many illnesses to which children are subject. Even internal medicines administered to them have generally some mystical significance, showing plainly the fear of unknown influences on the child.

It is surprising to note how prevalent is the custom all over the world of giving children sleeping draughts and soothing powders. Opium and similar poisons are administered without any thought of the harmful after-effects, as long as the main purpose of making the child sleep through the night is achieved.

Death, like birth, is most mysterious to human beings, and therefore is feared correspondingly. The primitive mind is quite incapable of fathoming

the why and wherefore of this dreaded event. Here again the usual superstitions, so frequently mentioned, hold full sway. Evil spirits, magicians, witches, the evil eye, the stars, the sins of parents or ancestors, are each in their turn believed to bring about the death of children. Sometimes quite innocent people are accused of causing a child's death and are made to suffer severe penalties, even death. Thus among the Christian Maronites of Lebanon, if the younger sons die at a certain age, the first-born is said to be the cause. His "star" is too powerful for his brothers to live. To do away with this danger he is suspended over some ruins or an abyss and has to repeat a formula swearing that he will partake neither of head nor feet until his brother is old enough to cut off heads. In other cases it is the mother who is said to have caused the child's death; and among some tribes a woman who has given birth to a stillborn child is turned out of her husband's house. In German East Africa such a woman must do penance. She is smeared with oil and flour, put outside the village, and is taunted and mocked at by the others. In ancient Peru, fathers, whose sons died, were considered great sinners; they were beaten with nettles by a cripple or some other deformed person, and then had to go to confession.

Dead bodies are believed to have magical powers. Thus the little finger of a child's corpse was greatly sought after by witches and sorcerers. In Switzerland dead children that have not yet been baptised are secretly buried in the night, so that the witches

should not learn the place of the graves and get at the little fingers. Such fingers are supposed to shine like candles. In Bern thieves seek to get possession of the whole hand which they also use as lights. Similar superstitions are to be found all over Europe. The English phrase "hand of glory" is said to be derived therefrom.

Many peoples believe that life after death is merely a continuation of the one on earth ; it is therefore not surprising to find that when a child is buried, its toys, clothes and other necessities are often buried with it ; sometimes dogs or favourite animals are killed to accompany the dead child. In Silesia a rubber teat as well as a doll is put with the child into the grave, otherwise the child will wake up again. In German Switzerland shoes and stockings are put on the dead child, so that it should not stumble into Heaven. On Loyalty Island the mother or aunt of the dead baby was killed in order that the child should not be quite forsaken in the other world.

When one reads of all the care bestowed on children to protect them against illness, ill-luck and death, it seems rather strange that infanticide should have been so widely practised. The exposure of children seems to be the most prevalent custom ; but unwanted babies are also killed by strangling, fire and drowning. Quite a list can be made out of famous legendary heroes who at birth were exposed by their parents, because some oracle had prophesied that they would be dangerous to them. Amongst others may be mentioned Romulus and Remus, who

were saved by being suckled by a wolf ; also Œdipus, King of Thebes, Perseus and many others, all of whom were rescued and ultimately fulfilled their destiny. The first-born child is naturally feared by the father as a future rival to whatever power or possessions he may have. Therefore we often find that the first-born, particularly of a chief, being a menace to the father's life, is put to death. Cronos, the father of Zeus, swallowed his children to avoid their revolting against him ; but Zeus was saved by the artfulness of his mother, who gave Cronos a stone dressed to look like a child to swallow.

Infanticide of twins, of girls, and in some cases of boys, has been dealt with in a former chapter. Apart from these we find that children that were in any way deformed were often exposed or killed. They are feared as bearers of wicked magic or as the work of evil spirits. This may, of course, not be the only cause for their death ; it is likely that they are useless to a community which is dependent on the physical strength of its members for its safety. In Sparta, where children were considered the property of the state, delicate or deformed children were either exposed or thrown into some abyss. The Bushmen kill crippled children out of pity, as they feel that such weaklings will not be able to cope with the difficulties of life.

Illegitimate children are killed or exposed to death by various races for reasons peculiar to themselves, such as fear of shame or of the husband's revenge.

The sacrifice of children to gods has always existed. We have an example of this in the story of Abraham

and Isaac. The main purpose of these sacrifices is to gain the good will of the higher powers; sometimes they are performed as a thanksgiving for some benefit bestowed and sometimes as a penance for some conceived misdeed. One of the forms of this sacrifice is the walling in of a living child in a new building or bridge; only thus will the erection be safe and sound. The children's game "London Bridge is falling down," which ends in giving someone away, is based on this gruesome custom.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHILD AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

THE new-born child enters into the world with its senses very undeveloped. The human organism is so very complex that it needs a very long time to attain maturity. Just as the period of gestation is longer for human beings than for the lower animals (with the exception of the elephant) so the period after birth necessary for the development of the child is very much prolonged in man. A chicken can move about and peck for its food almost immediately after it is hatched. Puppies and kittens, though blind for a few days after birth, are very soon able to frisk about. But the human baby is born almost sightless and deaf, is unable to use its body and has only the vaguest consciousness of anything but physical sensations of hunger and its satisfaction.

1. Sight

Contrary to popular belief, a child can see very little for the first few days after birth. The sensitiveness to light seems very small, although the difference between light and darkness seems to be felt. Children have been observed to show signs

of pleasure at a light on the first day, though some babies do not react to light until the 2nd or 3rd day. The little girl A.¹ closed her eyes on the 2nd day when taken to the light of the window, or when the light was put on, though she was quite indifferent to the full glare of an incandescent lamp on the 1st day. Professor Preyer found that the sensitiveness to light of his little son was much greater immediately after waking and that he vigorously turned his head away from the flame when the candle was brought near. He also found that children from the 2nd to the 4th day wake with a start, when a lighted candle is brought near their eyes.

For the first few days there is no complete co-ordination of the movements of the child's eyes, so that new-born babies squint, sometimes one eye moves and the other remains at rest; sometimes the head is turned in one direction whilst the eyes are turned in another. This irregularity, however, disappears as the child becomes conscious of objects and learns to co-ordinate the movements of its eyes in the direction of the object. At the age of 2 months A. was observed lying on her back trying to put her right hand into her mouth. She fixed her hand in front of her and showed extreme convergence of the eyes, as if squinting. This occurred innumer-

¹ All the facts relating to A. and N., the two daughters of the writer, are taken from diaries carefully kept from the days of their birth. The observations were mostly made and written down at the time by their father (a doctor) and partly by the mother herself.

able times and for many days. The movements of the lids are also unco-ordinated at first and only gradually become subject to the will. Blinking at the approach of a strong light or contact with a foreign body remains an involuntary instinctive act. It is not infrequent to see a child fall asleep with lids not quite closed. Nor do the two eyelids always work symmetrically, sometimes one is shut and the other remains open.

The child is unable to fix objects for the first nine days or so ; it only stares into empty space, although it instinctively turns the head or eye in the direction of a light. Preyer says that a child continues to stare, even when an object is brought into its line of vision and removed again. After a time, which varies with different children, the child seems to become conscious of objects in front of it and begins to take notice of its surroundings. Thus whilst gazing at one object, if another is brought near, it will turn the eyes from one to the other. The next stage in development is reached when the child follows a bright moving object with its eyes, if it is not moved too rapidly. At this time it has a curious inquisitive look. Preyer's boy followed a moving light on the 23rd day. N. followed a face from side to side on the 12th day, when her attention was kept to it ; and before she was a month old she constantly looked around her and intently watched faces. Bright objects delight the child at this age. In the 5th week Preyer's baby was delighted with the Christmas tree with its shining lights.

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After the 2nd and 3rd month the baby, instead of merely looking at objects, begins to look for them consciously. As time goes on, it learns to do this more and more effectively. This implies a cognitive consciousness of its surroundings. At the age of 2 months and 3 days N. looked at her feeding-bottle and stopped crying. In the 16th week Preyer's baby directed his gaze on to the wall and ceiling of the carriage, and on his arrival gazed observantly at the objects in the new room. In the 5th month he noticed his father's withdrawal from or entrance into a room, looking at him with a questioning look. Moving objects are observed later on. N. delighted in watching passing cars and horses when she was just 5 months old ; in fact, when on her outings, she would try to keep awake in order to watch all the moving objects. Preyer found that his little son noticed flying sparrows in the 29th week. Between the 21st and 22nd week A. uttered sharp cries of dissatisfaction when she dropped a plaything, and looked after it. After a time children deliberately throw things down and then look attentively in the direction in which they have fallen.

The new-born child sees objects that are distant from it only vaguely. When it does become conscious of distance, it still does not realise that objects seen are of unequal distance from its point of vision. It is only round the 5th month that a child begins to grasp for articles within reach with some appreciation of distance. The distance of far objects is at this age not gauged at all. A. was in

her 9th month when she held out her arms for a train running along a railway arch high above her. It is well known how children reach out for the moon and cry to get it. The sense of perspective makes only real progress when the child begins to move about and can learn to judge distance by his own locomotion. The same applies to the size of objects. Thus A. at 3 years old insisted that if she were held up, she could see into the little rooms at the top of the Big Wheel in Blackpool, an enormous structure, and was certain her mother could reach to the top of it.

At first the child cannot differentiate objects from flat surfaces, so that it will try to grasp smoke, a flame, shadow, running water, etc. This continues until into the middle of the 2nd year. It is only by contact with the various objects and the possibility of moving them that a child realises their solidity.

For the first three or four days of its life the baby is colour-blind and can only discriminate between light and darkness. Very soon, however, the child evinces pleasure at the sight of brightly coloured objects. One writer mentions a little girl whose attention seemed to be arrested by the contrasted colours of her mother's dress. Preyer's boy was pleased with a rose-coloured curtain and rose-coloured tassel on the 25th day, and with the sight of a brightly coloured ball of the size of an orange, at about 6 weeks old.

How soon a child can distinguish colours from one another is not known, as few experiments can be

made until the child is able to speak. Even then a child may know one colour from another and yet not connect it with the right name. It is also doubtful which colour first attracts a child, though one might think that the various reds please first. Experiments made with A. and N. showed that they had little knowledge of colours until just before the end of the 3rd year. N., however, when only $1\frac{1}{2}$ years old addressed a lady in blue as her aunt, because she was used to seeing her aunt in a blue dress. A. constantly at that age asked the names of different colours and could correctly name blue, red, yellow, white, pink, green and heliotrope. N. at the age of $2\frac{1}{4}$ years spoke of red and blue ladies, and a month later had some notion of blue, red and white. At 3 years old she named green, yellow, red and blue, but sometimes made mistakes. A month later she suddenly named colours correctly without having had any further teaching.

2. Hearing

It seems to be generally agreed that the new-born baby does not react to sound impressions on the first day. Experiments made on babies have given different results as to how soon a child responds to sound. Even being startled at a loud sound, like the banging of a door, is not necessarily a sufficient indication of actual hearing ; for the child may be startled by the vibration and not by the sound. Thus A. started at the sound of crackling chips on the 1st day and at other noises on the 5th day. On the 4th day the sound of a bell near her ear or

whistling near her head made her blink and start. About the same time N. was wakened up by the loud sound of the night bell in the bedroom. It takes some time before a child can recognise the direction from which a sound comes. The period given by different writers varies very much. One child quoted turned his head in the direction of his mother's voice on the 14th day; but it is doubtful whether this was not due to the breath on his cheek, as he did not do it when her face was turned in another direction. On the 5th day A. turned her head to the correct side when her right or left ear was whistled into. Tracy says that "the period in which children are first observed to turn the head in the direction of sounds extends from the 10th to the 17th week."

Sounds early divert babies from crying and seem to give distinct pleasure. Thus both A. and N. stopped crying when sung to on the 10th day. On the 40th day N. listened attentively when spoken to and stopped crying; two days later she smiled and turned her head in the direction of the person speaking and answered with a cooing noise which she only made on such occasions. At the same age A. answered with a satisfied crow. At 3 months old she stopped crying when she heard her father's voice outside the room and looked round for him. In the 13th week N. ceased crying at the sound of her rattle, and when it stopped she distinctly asked in her own language for it to start again. The sound of a typewriter fascinated her at the age of 5½ months. Children soon learn to understand

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the meaning of sounds. Thus one little boy on the 13th day would already start or stop crying according to the tone in which words were uttered. A little girl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ months old, knew she was being scolded. A. and N. knew when they were scolded at the age of 4 months.

Children are delighted with music at a very early age; in fact, in some cases almost in their first month. They follow rhythm sooner than melody. This is not to be wondered at; for rhythm is the very movement of life, and rhythmical movements, such as regular patting, rocking, etc., soothe a fretful child. Loud music, however, sometimes terrifies children. A. screamed every time she heard a brass band, and the sound of a drum or trumpet almost drove her frantic; whilst N., on the contrary, delighted in hearing bands. Musical noise made by the child itself gives still more delight. Thus A. when she was $7\frac{1}{2}$ months old used to blow a whistle with great joy. She never played with the whistle in any other way. At 10 months she enjoyed strumming on the piano or listening to others playing or singing. She also had a toy piano which she loved to play. At the same age she tried to imitate singing, coughing, sneezing. At $14\frac{1}{2}$ months she imitated correctly a short melody sung to her.

3. Taste

Experiments made on new-born babies show that the sense of taste exists from the very beginning, though perhaps only slightly. To quote Preyer:

"It is certain from all observations that the newly born distinguish the sensations of taste that are decidedly different from each other—the sweet, sour and bitter." The child very soon learns to discriminate other differences of taste. This is natural seeing that the child carries everything to its mouth, as soon as it can at all manipulate its hands. Predilections for and dislike of certain kinds of food are evinced at a very early age and are very difficult to overcome. Thus many children have a dislike to milk puddings and similar sloppy foods. Perversions of taste occur in many children. Most little ones love to suck the sponge they are bathed with ; some like soapy water, coal, earth, etc. It is quite usual for children to suck their pencils, crayons, paint brushes. The writer when a little girl loved to have a halfpenny in her mouth. What these likes and dislikes depend on has still not been discovered ; but it has become evident that unconscious influences play here an important part. For instance mention may be made of a man who from his third year refused to eat scrambled eggs without his knowing the reason for his aversion. It was accidentally discovered during a course of psycho-analytical treatment that his dislike was due to their fancied resemblance to a child's motion.

4. Smell

The sense of smell seems to coincide with that of taste, judging from various experiments upon newborn children. They are susceptible to strong

odours from the first hours of life. Sleeping children have even been known to awake crying when an unpleasant odour was brought near them. Discrimination between pleasant and unpleasant smells is shown in the early months and makes rapid progress, so that in the second half of the first year a child will show distinct pleasure at the smell of flowers. Yet it is very evident that they are by no means as sensitive to obnoxious smells as are adults; for they seem to be quite unaffected by odours that become quite intolerable to grown-up people. Thus as a rule they do not object to fetid smells, and it is only as the result of training that they come to regard them as obnoxious. But here, too, as in every other sense, a great deal of variation occurs among children, particularly as so very much is dependent on unconscious influences at a very early age.

5. Touch

The new-born baby is very active from the first day of its life. Indeed, its activities start in the womb, even before birth; for the quickening felt by the mother in the middle of the 5th month of pregnancy is due to the movements of the child. The limbs are constantly in motion; but there is very little deliberate movement until the 5th month after birth. The hands are often brought to the mouth; but this is quite accidental. The sense of touch is evidently stronger in the mouth and for a year or so the child tries to bring everything into

its mouth, even its own toes. Thus on the 13th day A. got her thumb into her mouth and sucked it vigorously. On the 18th day the entry in her diary says : " A. has more control of her hands ; she has more muscular feeling in them." Before the end of the 1st month the hand is brought into the mouth more intentionally. About the same time A. repeatedly grasped hold of her feeding-bottle and tried to push it farther into her mouth, though very clumsily. When she had pain she grasped hold of anything she could and held it very tightly. About the end of the 2nd month A. (and also N.) would patiently lie down and, fixing her hand with her eyes squintingly, attempt to bring it towards her mouth slowly and tentatively by a sort of trial and error. About a week after the hand was brought directly to the mouth with unfailing success. Shortly afterwards both fists were got into the mouth and sucked. At $3\frac{1}{2}$ months the children tried to reach out to bright objects, such as a red rattle, or red poppies, and attempted to grasp them. This shows that the visual sensations were being co-ordinated with the muscular movements, and also that the children had become more aware of the physical surroundings and took pleasure in external things. When A. was just 4 months old a toy lamb was placed in front of her. She looked at it for a long time, then full of eagerness bent her body forward, pursed her lips and stretched her hand out to grasp it. It was brought nearer to her reach ; she got hold of it and tried to bring it to her mouth, but only got both her hands instead.

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This seemed to satisfy her, and she was evidently under the impression that she had what she wanted, although the lamb was still in front of her. But the experiment was soon successful. About the end of the 4th month a further progress was made. The child now when playing with a toy became conscious of handling it and cried when it dropped. The child also gradually becomes more aware of distance and will stretch out in the right direction for an object, while up to then the arms have been stretched out meaninglessly in any direction. Fixing the objects and practising to get them into the mouth still goes on, but now the judgment of distance becomes quite evident. Thus when A. was given a bread-crust, she held it at arm's length, stared at it intently and then brought it straight into her mouth. Each time she lost it, she went through the same process, always fixing it first in front of her eyes.

After the first half year the child begins to show decided pleasure in throwing things down. This is not done out of pure mischief, as is often supposed, but because muscular movements give the child intense delight. Towards the end of the 1st year toys were hung on the babies' chairs by a long string, the children loved throwing them down and then hauling them up again by the string. The feeling of having something in the hand, i.e. the feeling of substance and size, also pleases at this age. Crushing paper between her hands amused A. for hours at a stretch, and she needed no other toy. The dashing of articles together, the banging

on tables, and so many of the noises which rejoice the hearts of babies, do so because, apart from the pleasure of the noise, they entail muscular exercise which is an absolute necessity for a healthy child. As soon as the child can move about alone, it learns to handle things much more easily and quickly, and progress is rapidly made henceforth. Imitation of others then begins to play a great part in development, as the child will try to do everything it sees others do. When N. was 15 months old she imitated her mother doing physical exercises and pretended to look in a book for directions, just as her mother did. She also imitated the maid washing the floor, the sharpening of knives on the steel, waved her hand, shook hands, and so on.

6. Movement

Just as the senses develop only gradually, so the child learns only slowly to co-ordinate the movements of its body and limbs. At first it can only lie down and move its limbs about meaninglessly. From the very beginning a child should never be restricted in any way in complete freedom of movement. When the child is carried about, its back and head must be supported. Slowly, however, progress is made towards assuming an upright position. Before the end of the first month a baby can balance the head for a minute or two, when held in an upright position. At 2 months old A. could balance her head quite well when she was held in a sitting posture. At 3 months both A. and N. could

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easily balance their heads and had also learnt to sit up fairly well. In the 7th month they could sit up in a chair for a few hours, playing with toys, or when wheeled out in the perambulator.

In the 2nd week, N., when held up under the arms, raised herself straight up on her legs ; but it is not until the 4th to the 5th month that the child really can do it deliberately. A. at that age was one day on her mother's knees, when she suddenly raised herself completely on her feet and repeatedly burst into loud, hearty peals of laughter, a thing she had never done before. N. also lifted herself on to her feet, when held under the arms, and at 5½ months could stand up (though with bent knees) when she leaned against anybody. At 7 months old she could stand up by holding on to the back of a chair. Once a child learns to stand upright it seizes every opportunity of doing so and it is very difficult to get it to sit or lie down, N. would stand upright when out in the pram and no sooner was she put down than she jumped up again. Innumerable times both the children were found standing up in their cots, long after they had been put to sleep. When they had learned that this was forbidden, they would quickly drop down and cover themselves, as soon as they heard footsteps approaching.

There seems to be evident proof that human beings have descended from arboreal beings. One only needs to consider the gradual stages through which a child passes before it can move about in an

upright position. The prehensile toes, the fact that a new-born baby can support itself by hanging on to a bar by both hands (as shown by Darwin's experiment) lend additional proof to this assumption. Crawling on all fours is quite natural to all babies before the end of the 1st year, and precedes walking, though children frequently make the movements of walking, before they begin to crawl. Suddenly one day in the middle of crawling, the child will raise itself up and, if assisted, will walk a few steps. The intense delight a child evinces when it has got so far, is charming to behold. But it is very fearful of moving about alone and must either hold on to a person's hand or to some other safe support. Generally, experiments are made round a chair, the walls of the room, and so on. But if the little one becomes too conscious, it will lose control and immediately drop down. Still even this hesitation is ultimately overcome, and by the beginning or middle of the 2nd year most children can walk quite well with only a few falls. Many mothers, too fearful about a few bumps or falls, try to prevent their children from walking or crawling at what they consider too early an age. But this is as great a mistake as trying to make a child walk by the use of special chairs, etc. Such chairs and contrivances are not an invention of modern times among civilised people. They were used by the Romans and are still in use among savage races and others. A child will walk only when it is ready to do so; it is cruel either to force it too soon or to hinder it in any way. The best plan is to put

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the little one on the floor from the earliest month, out of reach of draughts. It can then kick to its heart's content ; it will begin to move about in its own good time and also stand and walk when strong enough.

CHAPTER V

THE CHILD AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

(continued)

1. Orientation

Man is said to be a creature of intelligence, but there is very little evidence of this at the beginning of life. Just as the senses are at first dim and develop only gradually, so the intellect, though potentially existent from the outset, grows only slowly, step by step. The child, in a general way, repeats in its development the phases which Man has passed through in his evolution from his animal progenitors. From a being moving about on all fours and without reason or speech Man has evolved very slowly through the course of ages into an upright, rational and talking person. The earlier phases do not disappear completely, but are overlaid by the later ones. We therefore find in Man many primitive instincts which we are wont to attribute to animals only. Indeed, the new-born child is only at the animal stage and attains its rational human characteristics gradually.

From the moment the child enters the world it can suck and will suck anything that comes near its mouth. In fact, the human infant in its first stage of development is only concerned with food.▲The

very earliest signs of any recognition of the external world are manifested with regard to the taking of food. Thus, N. (who was bottle-fed) when 5 days old was crying for her food, but stopped when she was lifted up to take it. The experiment was made of putting her down, but she immediately began to cry again. When A. (also bottle-fed) was given her milk, a soft muslin cloth was put round her neck. At 6 weeks old she would stop crying as soon as she felt the cloth and wait patiently to be fed. Sometimes the experiment would be made of keeping her waiting with the cloth round her neck ; she would lie content, but the moment it was removed she would utter a loud yell of vexation. This also happened even after she had had her bottle. N. recognised her feeding-bottle at the age of 2 months 3 days and stopped crying at the sight of it. A month later she knew the thermos flask in which her milk was kept warm at night, and also a spoon from which she had drunk some water. Within a week after this the sight of a big stock bottle of milk made her purse her mouth into the position for taking milk. She evidently associated this big bottle with the small one from which she drank her milk. Before she was 3 months old she would patiently wait for her bottle if she saw it being prepared.

Gradually the baby's interest becomes awakened to other delights apart from those of being fed, and to other discomforts than unsatisfied hunger, and it gives expression to these feelings in unmistakable language. A carefully tended baby will quickly

announce when its napkins need changing, as it becomes sensitive to lying in wet or soiled things. A child can thus be trained to be clean at a very early age (in the first few months). If held out regularly at intervals after the food and the bath, it will learn to respond and, as soon as it can speak, will call out to be attended to.

A properly fed and cared-for child, who suffers from no discomforts, will take notice of and delight in its surroundings after a couple of weeks. The first person recognised by a child is the dispenser of its comforts whom it sees most frequently. How soon this takes place can hardly be definitely decided, but it seems to be round the end of the second month. Of course, one can only judge by the expression of the child's face, which suddenly changes from a vacant stare to intelligent interest. The smile with which the baby now greets its mother is not any longer meaningless, but is the smile of recognising a familiar object. In fact, the first time it was noticed that A. really smiled consciously was when she was 7 weeks old; she stared straight into the face of her mother and then burst into a sunny smile. The look of questioning surprise the little one gives to strangers is quite different from the knowing look with which it greets familiar faces.

It is only too well known how babies from the very first like to be nursed and carried about, and how they are soon aware of being put down. It is astonishing though, how quickly they can be taught to lie quietly in their cot or baby carriage and go to

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sleep by themselves. Babies are creatures of habit like their elders ; perseverance and non-yielding to their clamours and cries will soon accustom them to regular habits of sleep as of everything else. They will also get used to remain lying down quietly when awake. But this training does not do away with the delight of the baby in being taken up. A baby knows at a very early age when someone is coming to lift it up and it shows unmistakably its excitement at the prospect. Thus N. at 3 months knew that when the quilt was removed from her cot she was going to be nursed and she showed her delight by expressive movements of her limbs.

Company is a necessity to every baby. At first the sound of a voice is soothing and will stop a child from crying ; after a few weeks the baby is able to distinguish the tones of the voice and knows when it is scolded or spoken to in a harsh or friendly way. About the sixth week it begins to respond to talking and laughing with cooing noises and smiles. When N. was 3 months old she demanded company ; if no one was near, she made noises for someone to come to her.

Outings are a source of intense pleasure to the little ones. As soon as they have gone beyond the first stage of sleeping the whole time and have begun to take interest in external objects, everything connected with outings is recognised with excitement. When A. was 4 months old she was wheeled out into a small plantation where it was very quiet and peaceful. It was noticed that, as soon as she was off the high road where there was a great deal of

traffic, she would begin to cry and only stop when she was back again on the high road. The noise and movement around her evidently pleased her. From the 5th month both the children would try to keep awake when they were out, however sleepy they were. At the end of the first half year a little child knows that it will be taken out when its coat and hat are put on and it is placed in its carriage, and it will show impatience if not taken out immediately. N. at the age of 6 months knew that it was time for her outing when she saw her nurse put her hat on. One day the nurse left the room for a moment when N. was ready dressed to go out ; N. immediately began to cry, but stopped when the nurse returned and was very excited to get out.

As the months pass, the little one needs less sleep and becomes more and more awake to its surroundings. From first recognising only the mother or nurse it goes on to learn to know other people whom it sees frequently and welcomes them with a friendly smile. But its memory is short at first, and persons and objects are soon forgotten. Thus N. at 3 months was frightened at the sight of her father after he had been absent for eight days, just as she was of all strangers. When she was $7\frac{1}{2}$ months old she smiled at a friend, who was a regular weekly visitor, after one week's absence. This she never did to strangers. At 14 months she recognised her father and mother after a fortnight's absence. A. at the same age also welcomed a friend after a week's absence, though she was generally afraid of strangers. But at 10 months, when she had not seen him for a

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month, she was afraid of him again. A week after he came again and she was friendly once more. When she was just one year old her mother went away for a week. On her return A. stared for a moment ; then held out both arms and laughed aloud and for the whole evening would not go to anyone else, not even to her grandmother, to whom she was always willing to go.

At the end of the first half year the child begins to know people by name, and when asked " where is Mummy or Daddy ? " will turn in their direction. Gradually this extends to other people whom it knows by sight ; then to the domestic animals, the " puss," " wow-wow," " gee-gee," etc. Playthings and other objects of interest, such as the little one's own chair, the table, piano and other articles in its environment become known by name at this period (about 9 months).

It takes a long time before the child knows its own body as its own. It only learns this by painful experience. In the first weeks it scratches and strikes its own face, but though feeling the pain, it is absolutely unconscious of its source. This goes on for many months. Preyer says that his boy bit his own arm at the age of 15 months and cried out with pain. The child will endeavour to bring its toes to its mouth, just as if it were a foreign object. This experimenting with the limbs goes on until the second and even the third year. A similar process takes place here to that observed in a kitten or puppy chasing its own tail. A child when asked at 19 months to give its foot seized it

with both hands and tried to hand it over. It is most likely only when a child can compare experiences that it learns to discriminate between its own body and the external objects. It thus learns to differentiate between the sensation of biting its own finger and that of biting somebody else's.

Children are for a long time unable to distinguish the image of an object from the object itself. The reflection in a mirror only seems another person at the other side, and the child will try to touch it and grasp it. When A. was $6\frac{1}{2}$ months she saw in a mirror the reflection of a person near her. She alternately gazed at the person and then at the reflection with a look of great astonishment; this was repeated a great number of times. A fortnight later her own image in the glass excited her. She tried to get at it and attempted to touch it and was astonished that she could not get hold of it. She beat the glass with her fingers and got vexed with excitement. A month later she still mistook the image for a real person. A little boy, aged 14 months, mentioned by Tracy, passed his hands behind the mirror as if searching for something. In the 16th month he knew the reflection as his own and often looked at himself in the glass with pleasure and evident vanity. N. played hide-and-seek with her own image when she was 11 months old.

Pictures of objects begin to be recognised at the end of the first half year. When a child is shown a picture-book and asked "where is pussy cat?" it will point to it in a picture; but it does not at

first distinguish between living objects and pictures of them. Thus when A. was almost 7 months old she tried to get at a life-size picture of a girl's head on the wall and babbled to it. This picture attracted her greatly and she always tried to see it and speak to it. At 8½ months she was given a newspaper to play with, on which there was a figure of a man. Instead of putting the paper into her mouth as usual, she showed evident signs of pleasure, looked at her father, then at the picture, just as she used to do at an image in the glass. N. at 1 year old called every picture "babby" (the first picture shown to her was a baby). A couple of weeks later a picture of a baby in a book was called by her "babby," whilst a baby was "bay-by." At 1 year 7 months old men and pictures of old men were all "gam-pa." After she had been shown her father's photograph and been told it was "papa," she called every picture "papa." At 14 months she kissed the photo of her father whom she had not seen for a month and called it "dada," while other pictures were still "papa." A couple of weeks later she repeatedly recognised photos of her father, mother and aunt without a mistake.

It is difficult to say when a child learns the difference between animate and inanimate objects. For a long time, perhaps into the third year, moving objects are alive to the child, and it treats them as such. When A. was 2½ years old she was taken a railway journey; as the train moved out of the station, she said: "Where station

gone to? To have a cup of tea?" N. at the same age asked the train to come and kiss her. When told that this was impossible, she said it might at least come to her. Phantasy plays such an enormous rôle in the child's life that one can hardly ever be quite sure whether it really knows an object as alive or whether it imagines it to be so in pretence. When the face of N.'s doll was broken, she said pityingly, "Macker, Dolly?" (What is the matter, Dolly?) She was then $1\frac{1}{2}$ years old. When a match was trodden on to be put out, she said, "Poor fire!" At 1 year and 8 months she was brushing her own hair, whilst she had a piece of toast in her hand, and she said, "Brush toast's hair," as if the toast could have hair. A little boy of 3 years old said his teddy bear could not eat because it had no teeth (not because it was not alive). The same little boy knows that when a cup is dropped it cannot be hurt; but should his teddy bear or a similar toy fall down, he will cry bitterly. Perhaps the resemblance to a living object makes the child think it is alive.

The infant in its earliest stages is only aware of its own self. The sense impressions received are only gradually worked up into a coherent image of the environment. The sense of reality, of the external world, comes to children only with the gradual development of their faculties. They are taught only by experience that there exists a world outside them. A new-born babe, could it reason at all, would think itself omnipotent. Its demands are satisfied almost before it is aware of them. A

little later it only needs to express its wants by a cry, and they are attended to as if by magic. As the child begins to take note of its surroundings, it sees that there is always someone ready at its service. It only needs to command and it is obeyed. No wonder then that the baby knows this dispenser of all good things before anyone else. But suddenly it learns that there is a power outside itself which will not always fulfil its wishes, and which is insistent on a certain line of behaviour, quite opposite to its own feelings. The sense of omnipotence receives a startling blow, though it is not quite dethroned thereby. Worshipping parents and relations still show the baby that it is the centre of the universe. Nor does a child learn until it almost reaches the age of puberty the measure—or rather the limits—of its own powers. What at this stage seems like vain-glorious boasting is really only a false sense of proportion.

This gradual dawning in the child's mind of a sense of the external world is also expressed by its observation of and attempts at imitating the doings of other people. Mention has already been made of the way in which babies practise getting things into their mouths, and how often they repeat these actions until they are successful in them. In other words the child tries over and over again, until it succeeds according to the method of "trial and error." Similarly the child will practise what has interested it in the doings of grown-up people. It is thus that a child gradually orients itself in the outer world. It learns the values of objects, such as

their solidity, shape ; the possibilities of handling, moving, throwing them, and thus finds out by experience what is pleasurable and what harmful.

Imitation of movements and sounds commences with almost all children at the beginning of the second half of the first year. The exceptions are very few. Thus Preyer mentions that " the first attempt at imitation occurred in the 15th week, the child making an attempt to purse its lips when one did it close in front of him." In the 17th week " the protruding of the tip of the tongue between the lips was perfectly imitated once when done before the child ; and the child in fact smiled directly at this strange movement, which seemed to please him." At 6 months A. would intently watch other people and would follow their movements with her eyes. When a person drank a cup of tea she would look up to the mouth, then down again at the table, as the cup was put down. At 7 months she had a rattle with a whistle at one end ; when someone whistled to her, she would imitate the person, put the whistle to her own mouth and produce a slight sound. This shows that she understood the action. Frequently children imitate without having any notion of the meaning of the action. Thus waving of hands, as also embraces and other signs of fondness may mean nothing to the baby, but be merely imitative movements. At 8 months A. imitated the shaking of the head and the putting it sideways. If a hand was held out to her, she would give her hand ; but she evidently did not understand what it meant ;

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for frequently she would stretch out both hands at once. When asked by appropriate signs of the lips for a crust she was munching, she offered it and repeated the movement. At 9½ months she would often wave her hand and say "ta-ta," if anyone said it to her. She always coughed and sneezed, when she saw others do so. Her imitation of a yawn was always a laugh. By the middle of the second year everything was imitated—painting, writing, cleaning, drinking, and so on.

Children often hit on certain actions by accident and will then try to repeat them consciously. Thus at 9 months old A. found that by giving her body a violent jerk she could send her pram moving along the floor. Often afterwards, when she was supposed to be asleep, the sudden gliding of the carriage would give evident proof of the contrary. Again, she accidentally found out that, when she fell backwards in her cot she was picked up, whereupon she repeatedly threw herself down in order to be lifted up again.

At the beginning of the second year more complicated movements are attempted. Here the memory of previous actions plays an important rôle. The child is very much a creature of habit; one movement becomes associated with another, so that a routine is formed which the child goes through over and over again. Thus one little boy 1 year and 4 months old, when taken to the window, would look for the birdies. Near the window was a coal scuttle in which he could see his reflection. He would immediately go to this and say: "Artoo"

(Arthur) ; then he would try to open it and say, " No," because his granny had said that to him on his first attempt to open it. It is thus by following out the various routines of daily life, by constant repetition of actions and the persistent effort for new experiences that children learn to adapt themselves to the world around them. Every new achievement is a source of new delight, and very proudly does a child show off what it can do.

2. Language

The greatest aid towards orientation in life is language. Understanding of the spoken word naturally precedes speech itself. From the beginning almost, a baby is soothed by being sung or spoken to, and quickly learns to discriminate between a caressing and a scolding voice. As the intelligence awakens, the child begins to connect certain sounds with given people and objects, and further on with actions. Thus when A. was 6 months old her father muttered some nonsense words into her ear for fun, at which she laughed aloud ; each time he drew near with his face, she turned her head sideways for him to come near her. At 8 months N. knew several people, animals, toys, etc., by name, and when asked where they were, she would look in their direction. She also knew the meanings of actions such as " stand up," " sit down," " shake hands," " clap hands," and many others, and would act accordingly. Of course, this does not necessarily imply that the meanings of the words were understood as grown-up people under-

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stand them, but merely that certain objects and actions were connected with the particular sounds. When a year old N. would pretend to be taking her clothes off at the word "off." Words like down, up, here, there, no, etc., were also understood at this period.

From the first day the infant gives expression to its feelings by cries. After the first couple of weeks these cries become varied, and the discriminating ear can soon discern the different cries of hunger, pain or anger. Within a couple of months pleasure and surprise are expressed by different sounds. When N. was $2\frac{1}{2}$ months old she would coo responses to anyone speaking to her; often it was a great effort accompanied by a stiffening of the whole body. The next step is taken when children start to babble. Here alphabetic sounds begin to be heard, of which the vowel "a" seems the first. These babblings are at first quite unconscious and meaningless. M, p, d and b are some of the first consonants used. At about 4 months they are combined with "a" and thus form ma, pa, da, ba, etc. The repetition of these sounds, so pleasing to a baby, gives the familiar mamma, papa, dada. It has therefore been thought that the almost universal appellation of the mother as "mamma" and of the father as "papa" or "dada" is due to the fact that the children first become aware of their parents at the time when they begin using these sounds. Here again there is no proof that the words used are understood; it is more probable that the sounds are merely connected by association

with the person. It is generally in the second half year that these babblings become deliberate and acquire definite meanings. At 7 months old A. would ask to be played with when left alone by uttering the sound "eh-eh." A couple of months later when her mother said "clap hands, dada comes," she would say, da-da, dadadada, and hold her hands up to play; and for "baby lovey is going a-tata" she would babble a few undefined syllables ending with "tata."

Once a baby begins to speak it eagerly tries to imitate every sound it hears. It practises these sounds constantly. Every time an object is seen its name is spoken. At first only the beginning consonant is uttered followed by some vowel, as, for instance: ke (car), pe (puss), ba (bath), be (bird), and so on. Sometimes the letters are transposed as in: ge (egg). Letters are often left out, generally the end ones; for instance: ticki (ticket), pi (pig), pe (pet), ki (kiss); or the letter at the beginning is dropped, as in: ock-ide, which was meant for "Jock (is) outside" and o-oo-a for Joshua, said in the exact tone fall as it was sung. Tocki (stocking) is another example; here both the first and last letters are dropped.

Words of two syllables are at first mainly single syllables reduplicated (as has been previously mentioned with regard to the babblings of babies). In this way we get so many names in baby language, e.g. wow-wow, gee-gee, puff-puff, tick-tick, ta-ta, bye-bye, ba-ba, quack-quack, and so on. Sometimes syllables are reduplicated after having been trans-

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posed. Thus A. when asked to say "auntie," said "Nana," which was just the first syllable "aun" transposed and repeated : na-na instead of an-an.

When the child learns to use words of more than one syllable, it often omits one syllable, most frequently the last, as e.g. : kokol (chocolate), pen (penny), let (letter). Sometimes it is easier to drop the first syllable : bella (umbrella), or nana (banana), mange (blanc-mange). Another method is that of replacing consonants and vowels that are difficult to pronounce together by easier ones. When N. was 9 months old she attempted two-syllabled words, such as the following : de-ye (dolly), a-yow (hello), a-ye or a-dee (Amy), Lu-ye (Lucy), loll-ye (dolly), die-down (lie down), pitt-y-cat (pussy cat), di-di (dinner). It can be seen that in each case the line of least resistance is taken and the sounds uttered are as near as possible to the originals. A very difficult letter is often replaced by "w," as e.g. "wight" instead of right. The letter y takes the place of l in de-ye, a-yow ; d stands in place of m in a-dee ; l instead of d in loll-ye, and d instead of l in die-down. It will be seen from these examples that a consonant sometimes can be pronounced at the beginning of a word and yet not in the middle or end.

Sometimes it is easier for the child to transpose a letter or syllable. Thus we get "ge" for egg, ke (milk), and dee-a instead of a-dee for Amy, or epilunt for elephant. It cannot always be decided whether a child cannot pronounce a word correctly or whether it has not caught the sound properly

and merely attempts the rhythm of the syllables. Thus A.'s attempts at "gentleman" were as follows: man-a-man, man-a-pan, pan-a-man, dam-a-man, and dentil-man; for handkerchief she had first: amile, then hamperditch. N.'s attempts for handkerchief were: hackerchuff, hackerfuff, hacker-pit, hackerchut, and hackerfutch. Sometimes hardly any resemblance can be traced between the original word and the one substituted except in an odd letter here and there. Generally, however, the first letter is correct and the number of syllables, combined with a transposition of some of the syllables. Children often have a vocabulary of their own. Thus A. called music (and piano) "mimmele," bonnet "bimbele," blanket "bil-a-bil." Many children turn words into a diminutive form, as e.g. dinner into "diddee" or "diddums," "baggy" (bag), nosyi (nose). A. at 1 year 8 months had a peculiar way of ending all words with "ile," e.g. pockile (pocket), puggile (pudding), cockile (chocolate), slokine (soaking).

Most of the words first used are nouns or verbs; after these come adjectives and adverbs. At the age of 1 year 8 months A. had a vocabulary of 160 words made up of 125 nouns, 11 verbs, 9 adjectives, 7 adverbs and a few others. Nouns are often used as verbs without any modification; thus "lecker" meant blacklead pencil and also to write with one. Or a word may have various meanings attached to it by the child by a process of fortuitous association. Thus a handkerchief was called first "whash" (evidently from the washing rag used for

her) ; afterwards the same word whash was applied to face, which was most probably due to a confusion arising from the phrase "wash your face." The word "up" was used alike for up and down.

The first attempt at sentences generally comprises only one word. Thus the word "ke" (milk) stands for "I want my milk" ; or "up" may mean "lift me up." The next step is to use two words for a sentence, a noun and verb, as e.g. "mamma peep" ; or a noun and adjective, as "pitty baby" (baby is pretty) ; or a noun and adverb as in "ball down" (ball has fallen down). Very often a series of words is formed into one compound word : "die-down" (lie down) or "up-a-go-baby." Such words are used mistakenly as single words. A good example is that of "on-an-ombello" for umbrella. A. saw a picture of a little girl under an umbrella and it was explained to her. She thereupon connected the last three words (under an umbrella) and used this henceforth to denote an umbrella. In forming longer sentences the child at first adheres to essentials only and discards words of secondary importance. Thus N., trying to tell the maid Maggie that a piece of apple had been thrown into the fire, said, "Ta-ta, appu, dow, Maggie, gone." "Grandma said hello to Amy" became "Gabba A-dee adow," and similarly "Dada man tokit" stood for "Daddy was talking to a man." "No cot, tata, mamma, caddige" expressed the long sentence : Baby does not want to go into the cot, but likes to go out with mamma in her carriage. She had a delightful formula at 1 year and 7 months, which

ran as follows: "Boddet off, coat off, gubs off, gaites off, bib on, oop, ben-in, poon (this meant: Take baby's bonnet, coat, gloves and gaiters off; put her bib on so that she can have soup with bread in it and use her spoon for it). She once refused to say good-bye to her daddy; as she went out of the room, she remarked to herself: "Naughty baby, bye-bye daddy" (naughty baby did not say good-bye to daddy). Should a child be short of a word it will put one in of its own coinage in order to get the rhythm of the intended sentence, as e.g. "Maggie diga diga table wash" (Maggie has water to wash the table). N. always interspersed "pom-pom" in a sentence where she could not use words properly, as e.g. "Fire very pom-pom, paper" (fire is very hot, it burns the paper). In a similar way A. used the letter "a" between her words, as in: "A-baby a-go a-tata a-see a-gee-gee, a-moo-cow. The child has a very strong sense of rhythm and will get at the rhythm, even when it cannot repeat the sentence itself properly. At 1 year 7 months N. recited the following: "See-saw, Maddedee daw; baby, master; penny, day; faster." Here again, it can be seen that only the words which really tell the story are used, the other binding words being omitted. Similarly words are not always put into the right place in a sentence and only the main idea is given, thus: "Appu pit out" (spit out the apple), or: "Oh, dear, Eneen door shut" (Oh, dear, Evelyn has shut the door).

The use of pronouns generally only comes towards the end of the second year. For a long time the

baby talks of itself as " baby " (being called baby by other persons) or by its own name. N. would say : " Baby has a stocking on " and then improve upon it by saying : " This baby has a stocking on," and ultimately : " I have a stocking on." But there remains a great confusion about the words : I, me ; we, our, us ; you, your ; she, her ; he, his, him, etc. It is quite usual to hear : " give I " instead of " give me " and " me take it," or " we wash we-selves " and " I told me to go to sleep." When N. was wheeling her doll's carriage she was asked by her mother : " Shall I help you ? " whereupon she answered : " No shall I help you ; baby help you, I help you." Her or him is often used in place of me. When N. was told not to say " her " (for herself) but " my," she formed this sentence : " Baby put cherries in my mouth."

The use of conjunctives forms another progressive step in the formation of sentences. At first nouns are not connected at all, so that we get sentences such as : " Mamma has a nozy (nose), tsin (chin). But when the value of " and " becomes appreciated, there is evident pleasure in its use, as is shown by the following sentence : " Mamma and Daddy and baby and dolly are going for a walk " with emphasis on the " and " each time. Negatives are rather difficult to manage at first, and the child goes the shortest way about it by adding " no " after an affirmative sentence. Here again it will be seen that an idea is expressed and can be understood by adhering to essentials only. Thus N., on seeing a gentleman, said : " My daddy, no " ; or, when her

dolly would not go to sleep : " Doughty (naughty) girl, dolly go to sleep, no." A. who wanted to dress her dolly herself said : " Baby dress a dolly, mama dress a dolly, no." Even when " not " came into use, no was still added at the end of the sentence, as in : " I'm not a funny fat girl, no."

Answers to a question are at first given by an appropriate shake of the head and not by using the words no or yes. When N. learnt the word " yes," she would correct anybody who answered by " hm " instead : " You must not say ' hm,' you must say yes." Interrogative sentences are also simplified by placing the words where most convenient and uttering the sentence in a questioning tone. Thus, when the cat was miauling, A. asked : " Cry for, Toby ? "; or " Macker, dolly ? " (What is the matter, dolly ?).

Even when all these difficulties have been overcome others crop up, such as past tenses, plurals, the correct position of words, etc. It is so natural to say " comed " instead of come, " bringed " instead of brought, " buyed " instead of bought ; or " mans " instead of men, " mouses " instead of mice and " tooths " instead of teeth. The wrong placing of words often occurs after a question. This happens especially when the child tries to answer a question by merely repeating it in an affirmative tone. Both children would answer with : " ' Don't you want cake," when they meant " I don't want cake " ; or they would answer the question " Shall I help you ? " with : " No shall I help you." We have also such sentences as : " A paper take

a baby off " instead of " baby take a paper off." Here the correct sequence of subject and object is not grasped as yet. When children are short of certain words they evade the difficulty by using words they already know, in another (illegitimate) form. Thus N. wanting to say " the rain was pouring down," said: " the pours are pouring "; and when sneezing, she said: " had a chew." She also formed verbs from nouns as " the wind is winding," " the band is banding," " the cockadoodles are cocking " (crowing). " Hurry-upping " and " quicking " were also verbs coined by her. " Better'n't I ? " (had I better not) is a common phrase among children. On the other hand, verbs are turned into nouns in phrases like the following : " May I have a put-it-in ? ", " may I have a cut-it ? " (a knife), or " may I have a pass ? " (meaning to pass a chair). " A tie-daddy's boots " was used for bootlace, and quainter still is " may I have a get-there ? " (meaning, may I go there).

We see children express their thoughts as well as they can with the material they have at their disposal. They are experts in the use of symbolism and can give graphic descriptions by means of analogies. Liver was called " chocolate meat," meat pie was " apple-pie meat " (the child had up to then only known apple pie). When A. wanted to use her tooth brush, she said : my teeth are rough (in analogy with rough hair), and a hard piece of crust was described as " hot." When N. was told she had eye-brows, she said: " no, eye-blues," evidently thinking the word was eye-browns (she

herself has blue eyes). The moving reflection of light in the cut edge of a mirror was compared to a running egg. When asked where baby's head was, she replied: "here on the hair wrong side." She heard that a little girl had a sty in her eye, whereupon she remarked: "I had a star in my eye and it did ache and it flew into the sky."

3. Thought

Naturally abstract concepts are more difficult to grasp than names of tangible objects and of actions. Long after children have learnt to speak quite intelligently, they are unable to understand abstract ideas. It can almost be said that a child only begins to reason when it is capable of appreciating values and relationships; when it acquires a sense of time and space, and of the outer world apart from its physical surroundings. Thus the child applies a given name to an object, for instance the name horse to a particular horse. Later on it extends the name to all animals resembling a horse, and may even call a donkey a horse on account of its supposed resemblance to a horse. For the child is very apt at first to notice similarities and to overlook differences. Thus A. at the age of 5 years defined a cow as a "sort of horse." Anything round like a ball, as an orange, bubbles, balloons, etc., is called ball. A French child applied the word "atti" (assis = seated) to chair, footstool, bench, sitting down, sit down, etc. At what time children learn to use generic terms like horse for horses in general is difficult to decide. At 13 months A. called all

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dogs wow-wows, except one she knew whose name was Jock, and whom she called "Ock."

In a similar way the notion of number is only gradually acquired. The child suddenly realises that it has more than one object at a time in its hand. But it is not always wise to assume that the value of two is appreciated, even when it is used correctly. It may be mere imitation of something heard. N. could count up to ten, but at that time only had a proper idea of values up to three. She was told when $2\frac{3}{4}$ years old that she was going to go in two cars to her grandfather's house. When she was in the first car, she asked: "Am I in two cars?" and in the second car she asked: "Am I in two cars now?" If she had more than two of anything she would say she had many. "Where are my pennies? I had many," she remarked when she only found one in her box instead of two she had had. In counting objects children will count correctly as far as they know and then continue with any numbers, even inventing new ones of their own, as e.g. rempty, rempty-one. When A. was almost 3 years old she wrote down that her doll was 6 years old by writing all the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

The conception of "another" and the correct use of the word only come in the third year. When A. was told to say "another ride" instead of "a ride again," she said "another ride again." For "daddy wants another kiss" she substituted "another daddy wants a kiss"; for "mamma build another house" "another mamma build a house," and so on.

One of the most puzzling abstract conceptions for a child to grasp is the sense of time. The terms to-morrow, to-day, yesterday and the names of the days are most confusing. "If it is Wednesday, how can it be to-day?" asked a little fellow of 3 years. And another little child still more confused wondered, "How can Sunday have been yesterday when it is to-day and was to-morrow before that?" One little boy asked, "Where has yesterday gone to, and where does to-morrow come from?" Also where does time sit in the clock? Does the clock feel time moving it? If the clock stops, does the time stop too?" Another child remarked: "I saw time when I looked at the sun. The long rays are the time." N. first learnt the difference between the present day and Saturday; at least she often spoke of what she was going to do on Saturday. At the age of 3 she announced one day: "It is to-morrow to-day"; but she remained confused for a long time about to-morrow. In the same way periods of time have no meaning to a child. When A. at 4½ years was told that Christmas was five weeks ahead, she said: "Five is not much," and it had to be explained to her that there would have to be another 5 Sundays, 5 Mondays, etc., before she had any idea of the length of time to elapse until Christmas. She was told Mummy's birthday was coming soon, and daily she questioned whether Mummy's birthday had come yet. On the day itself she was quite distressed because the birthday had come and she could not see it. The varying lengths of the day also cause misunderstandings. When the days

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were lengthening A. was very puzzled why we had supper in the day-time, as previously we had it with blinds drawn. When she was told she must go to bed early, she repeatedly asked : " Is it early yet ? " The difference between light and dark is very puzzling to children. " Put the light out and the light will be dark " ; or " I want to see the dark when it is dark," said N., and one hot night she said : " Put the light out and my feet will get cool." Evidently the light distressed her, and she connected this with the discomfort of hot feet. Another time she described the dark as " the black was like coal ; I could not find any place without black." She was also worried because her daddy's face was dark in the dark.

It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that a child's sense of distance is very hazy for a few years. In the same way it has also little conception of comparative size or space. A child standing on a chair will firmly believe it is as big as its parents. A. maintained that her hair was as long as her mother's when she stood on a stool and the end of her hair was level with that of her mother's. At 7 years old she asked if a certain mountain (over 1,600 feet high) was higher than the ceiling. She always expressed the greatness of her love for anyone by saying : " I love you up to the ceiling, the sky and the whole world." If her love was not so great, she only loved up to the ceiling and the sky. The conceptions of near, far, up, down, big, small, etc., are all spatial relations of which the child acquires a proper notion only fairly late. Thus a

child will say something is "down here right up there." When told something will happen when she is big, N. asked in a few minutes: "Am I big now?" She did not like to go in two tramcars, because it made her home so far. When asked where a shop was she replied: "It is next to where the fishman isn't" (the shop was in the same street, but lower down than the fishmonger's).

Family relationships, as other abstract relations, create similar difficulties. How can the same person be a grandfather of one and father of another? How can one's own mother be also a sister, an aunt, a daughter and wife, all at the same time? Most children find it difficult to know who is a girl and who a lady. Generally they solve this by looking upon a married woman as a lady, while all the others are girls. All this appears ridiculous to a child. Indeed, many things the grown-up people say seem ridiculous to children, apt as they are to take everything literally. Thus, when a little girl was told that the street turned round, she complained that she could not see it moving. Another little girl heard someone say a school went "smash," and she immediately made up a long yarn about a school being broken to pieces and falling on the children.

Children cannot grasp the problem of life until a late age. They pick up and unfortunately are given much information that is far beyond their powers of understanding. The phenomena of nature and the world in general puzzle them very much. "Why does a cat have fur on in summer, when the weather

is hot, as well as in winter ? ” “ How can the cow make milk itself, and does it spit it out ? ” “ If steam comes out of a horse's nostrils, has the horse coal inside him ? ” “ How can my feet grow, if I have toes ? ” These are examples of the numerous posers children put to their elders.

A good deal of religious instruction also is taken by children in a literal sense. They can only classify the new knowledge with that of their previous experience, so that there arise the quaintest notions. Thus, e.g. a little boy asked if God got wet when it rains. N. was told at school that God was a spirit, whereupon she came home and inquired : “ You get that at the chemist's, don't you ? ” (she evidently thought of methylated spirits). Another little girl called her doll “ resurrection of the body,” a phrase she had picked up at school. A lady who wanted to impress on a little boy that he had a conscience asked him if he never heard a little voice telling what was right. The youngster answered : “ I often hear voices in here (pointing to his stomach), but they never say anything.” Another little boy, running away from well-deserved punishment for turning a hose-pipe on to his father, asked for a few minutes' respite. He then rushed upstairs, knelt down and said : “ Now God, now is your chance ! ” A little boy asked : “ What was there before God made the world ? ” He was told : “ Nothing.” Whereupon he remarked : “ There must have been the place where God was.”

CHAPTER VI

INNATE TENDENCIES

HUMAN beings are born with certain innate tendencies inherited from their animal ancestors. But though these instincts of man are fundamentally the same as those of the animals, they are much less definite and circumscribed. They are vaguer and subject to variation, conscious reasoning playing a much more important part in guiding and controlling them than in animals. Instinct in animals is limited to certain given reactions which cannot be greatly modified. Thus, for instance, each kind of bird builds its nest at a particular place with specially collected material, and in a particular manner from which it deviates but very little. Man, on the other hand, can consider which is the most suitable method and which the most convenient site for his home; he may choose time and material to suit his convenience. Similarly, though the mating instinct is strong in both animals and man, it is expressed in man in a variety of states, called love, which would hardly seem to have any resemblance to the mere animal passion we find among the lower creatures. In animals the mating impulse is confined to certain seasons and is limited in choice and expression.

Man is not restricted by seasons, or only very slightly. In him the instinct, instead of being limited to mere physical passion, has developed in a marvellous degree by branching out in all directions, emotional and spiritual, leading to art and all the wonderful expressions of love.

Not all inborn tendencies are present at birth, but only those which are necessary for self-preservation. With the advance of physical and mental development the other instincts gradually come into play. The simplest of these innate tendencies are the reflexes, such as sucking, sneezing, movements of limbs, etc., which function immediately after birth. They are merely reactions to certain stimuli and are performed without any accompanying emotion. If an object is brought to a new-born baby's mouth, it will start sucking quite mechanically; if a strong light is brought near its eyes, it will blink. Crying and other similar expressions of the emotions, however, such as yelling and struggling, though also unconscious at the very commencement of life, are yet dependent upon and aroused by the emotions themselves, such as fear, anger, etc. These emotions, though existing from birth, only gradually develop as the child becomes more conscious. The new-born baby becomes frightened, and shows this by crying, if it does not feel sufficient support to its back; if, e.g. it is startled by a sudden noise; or if it experiences other unpleasant physical sensations. At this time it does not yet react to other causes arousing fear. Gradually, however, as the child becomes aware of its environment many objects tend

to arouse fear. Often it is the sight or touch of furry creatures, or perhaps a bearded man (particularly if the father happens to be clean shaven). New-born babies are not afraid of the dark; this only comes later, especially if they have been habituated to sleep with a light in the room. People are often surprised at the fearlessness of little children. This, however, is due to their being unaware of any cause for fear. As the child grows older fear increases in proportion to its experience of danger, though some of the earlier dreads may disappear. No reasoning will ever cure children of some fears. Many of them are based upon unconscious feelings and often continue right into adult life, forming the basis of later neuroses. Thus, a little boy of 5½ years shrieked for fear whenever he was taken on a tramcar. His parents could not understand this at all. It was found out accidentally that they once had threatened to lose him if he were naughty. He evidently feared that they might actually do so when on the car. Many such fears (called phobias), either of large spaces, enclosed rooms, or trains, etc., generally owe their origin to similar experiences, or may go back even farther into the early years of childhood. However careful parents may be in shielding their children from anything likely to arouse feelings of anxiety, they will hardly ever be quite successful, seeing that children so often invent their own fears from their phantastic imaginings.

The emotion of disgust finds little expression in new-born children, as they are generally too well cared for to come in contact with anything tending

to arouse it. It is excited by contact with noxious tastes, smells, etc. The repulsion and shrinking away from anything disgusting generally serves a useful biological purpose protecting the individual from things injurious to the organism. This instinct is much more definite in animals than in human beings. A young animal does not take long in learning to distinguish what is food and what poison. Civilised man has so much variety of foods and so many ways of preparing them and thus rendering them harmless that there is not the same necessity for the proper functioning of this instinct of repulsion and rejection in man. Natural (primitive) man knows much better how to avoid noxious foods, and children, when brought up naturally, are much in the same position. On the whole, when not spoiled, they have a good instinct of what is good for them. Disgust, like fears and phobias, is often aroused in children by certain objects, without any apparent logical reason; it is in these cases often based on unconscious feelings and ideas.¹ Parents are often surprised and worried that their children are so little sensitive to dirt and excremental matter. This is quite natural behaviour in children; for it is only by persistent training that a child can be taught to look upon excrement as unclean and disgusting as grown-up people do. It realises only very slowly that the physical functions connected therewith must be performed in private. Uncon-

¹ Such unconscious ideas grouped round an emotional centre of feelings are in psycho-analytical language called "complexes."

sious complexes exert a strong power on people's likes and dislikes for certain foods and cannot rationally be explained or argued away. With some people they may persist right through life. In the case of disgust it can be seen once more how instincts which originally served a physical purpose have in human beings become intellectualised, so that now unpleasant manners, speech, or immoral behaviour will arouse disgust apart from obnoxious physical characteristics of people.

Although the strange or unusual tends to arouse fear, it also excites curiosity. In fact, it is very likely that in many cases curiosity precedes fear, as the child is often not aware of any cause for fearing an object which it is eager to touch or see. A good example of this is a child's playing with fire. The bright sparkling fire awakens its curiosity. It is only when it feels the pain of the burn that the child learns to dread the fire. In the same way curiosity will make a child touch a dog; only when the dog barks or snaps does the little one begin to fear dogs and similar animals. Surprise and wonder at all new experiences are plainly expressed on a child's face. The thirst for new experiences is very strong in children and often leads them into mischief when none was intended. Curiosity about its own body, the nearest object to handle, is very early in evidence. Sex curiosity is also very natural in children and shows itself at a very early age. Questions about the difference of the sexes, about birth and death, are very frequent and insistent and have to be satisfied in some form. The curiosity of children

naturally varies in intensity with the intellectual and emotional make-up of the child. It should certainly never be completely thwarted, as is still too commonly done at present ; for all great research in every branch of science, philosophy and art, is ultimately based on the instinct of curiosity.

Expressions of anger in the baby can soon be distinguished from those of fear or pain by the discerning parent. How soon a new-born baby evinces anger is a moot point. Darwin noticed it in a child eight days old. At first there is little to arouse a baby's anger, as its wants are few and easily satisfied. But with the growth of intelligence wishes increase and signs of anger and impatience often come into evidence. The difficulty of expressing wishes and of being understood rouses children to a state of great anger. Other emotions, such as jealousy, the sense of personal property, wilfulness, aggressiveness, etc., all find expression in fits of rage. A child's first impulse when angry is to bite or strike out in some way, which is plainly a harking back to the animal ancestry. As the child grows up, it learns to control the expression of its anger and to abstain from physical attacks. Many adults still make aggressive movements such as clenching of the fist, etc., when their anger is aroused.

The instinct of self-display, called by the psychoanalysts exhibitionism, is very strong in human beings. In animals and birds it manifests itself mainly at the time of mating. Birds and many other animals have special organs of display at this period, note, e.g. the gorgeous tail of the peacock. Children

possess this instinct to a large degree, and they are never so happy as when they have an admiring audience to notice their antics. Parents and friends are only too ready to form this admiring circle, thus encouraging the children in their exhibitory habit. Everything a child possesses, anything it can do, it uses for this purpose. It is therefore not astonishing that tiny children who have not yet learnt to feel shame or modesty will exhibit their bodies and even insist on having people with them when performing their bodily functions. They have been so often praised for being "good" in this way, that it is quite natural for them to wish to show what they can do in this respect as in other ways. As the child grows up it is taught to restrain these forms of exhibitionism; but expression of this instinct is found in the boasting and swagger of boys and the vanity of girls. Boys love to show their physical strength and skill and prowess, while girls are very vain about their looks and clothes. Children always find something to boast about, even if it be merely the fact that one has had more illnesses than the other, or, as one little boy proudly asserted, that his father had been to prison.

The impulse of aggression and self-assertion is native to every child. In the earlier stages it takes the form of defiance of authority. One can constantly hear children telling what they would do if they had the power they lack. Thus one little boy, evidently chafing under parental restraint, told another boy of the same age that his own parents would go to God (die), and then he could kick the

furniture as much as he liked. When the defiance of authority dare not express itself in deeds, it tries to find an outlet in impudent words and looks. Thus one little girl, who often had to be told to go upstairs and wash her hands, did so reluctantly under the threat (which became quite habitual with her) that she would not do so on the morrow. Children try to exert authority over their own possessions and ill-treat them unmercifully. It is very likely that through lack of experience children often do not realise how much suffering they cause. The fact remains that there is a tendency to cruelty[†] in most children. Everybody knows of the tremendous bullying that goes on amongst children which often causes great suffering to sensitive youngsters. Older children assert their individuality in less physical ways. They are eager to excel at games and at work. Self-assertion up to a certain degree is a necessity for the complete development of the personality and should not be unduly suppressed, even when it at times becomes too exuberant. It is the weak-willed that submit to control too readily. According to Professor Sully the rebellious child is biologically the best.

The opposite of self-assertion is self-abasement. Its expressions are the reverse of those of aggression. Originally its purpose may have been to avoid attracting attention, and it seems to be one of the roots of shame and modesty. Little children express

[†] According to the psycho-analytical school, the tendency to obtain pleasure from acts that are painful to others is called "sadism."

this mental state by hiding their faces and refusing to speak to or come near strangers. It thus can often be mistaken for an expression of fear. One of the symptoms of this negative feeling is submission to authority, either real or imagined, and even submission to or even wish for ill-treatment.¹ Children who suffer from this tendency allow themselves to be bullied without retaliating. They withdraw into themselves and are shy and backwards in showing off their achievements and suffer agonies if forced to do so. This feeling of inferiority often hinders them from pushing on or making headway in life; for although they may be quite talented, they always imagine themselves inferior to others and sometimes become incapable of doing anything. This state is frequently brought about by parents showing preference for a more brilliant child and making detrimental comparisons.

Man is a gregarious animal and cannot live alone. Children are sociable little beings and, from the very beginning of life, prefer to have somebody with them. A baby will stop crying when it hears someone approach and will show evident signs of delight in having company. Not many children like to play alone, and even when they do, they generally invent imaginary comrades who share in their games. But in spite of this wish and liking for companionship, it is very difficult to get younger children to play in organised games. Their social conscience is too little developed to enable them to play fair or to

¹ This tendency, the opposite of sadism, is called "masochism."

submit to the authority of a leader. Older children, however, readily take part in team and class work, each feeling himself a member of the whole to which he must do honour.

Though children are, as a rule, selfish and self-centred, they nevertheless show sympathy readily. The sight of suffering, when once they understand its meaning, will easily bring a response. Thus, when N. saw a match trodden on, she exclaimed, "Poor fire!" evidently thinking that the match felt the same pain as she would have done under the same circumstances. This feeling arouses kindness and generosity in children who otherwise on the whole appear to be rather selfish. Very rarely does a child resist the appeal to give some of its toys to a poorer child who has none.

What may seem to be selfishness in a child at parting with its toys is frequently merely the expression of a keen sense of property. Children have a very strong feeling for their own belongings, and at the same time an equally strong desire to appropriate other people's belongings. This is based on the primary instinct of acquisition. It is manifested by many animals and birds (note the well-known example of the magpie). Almost all children make some kind of collections, however worthless they may be. This feeling of possession is often extended by the child to the personages around it. Grown-up people often tease children by threatening to take their parents or other things away from them. They hardly realise what agonies of mind they thereby give rise to in a child. Even

the threat to cut off a curl, so much cherished by a child, will frighten it. Envy of other children's possessions, as toys, clothes, etc., is easily aroused, and similarly children are frightfully jealous of the attentions paid to other children. This can be observed in any home where there is more than one child. The eldest one will resent the love bestowed on the younger, which was his prerogative until the newcomer appeared. Real cruelty can be shown by some children on such occasions. In one case which has come to the knowledge of the writer, the new baby had to be slung up to the ceiling in order to safeguard it against the savage attacks of an older sister. On the other hand, the younger children often feel that the older ones have many rights and liberties that are denied to them, and resent this unreasonably. Where there are more children the middle one will often feel unfairly treated in both ways, having neither the liberties of the oldest, nor the petting care which is, of necessity, given to the baby.

It is a well-known fact that the best way of keeping a child out of mischief is to give it something to do. A child is never so happy as when it has made something all alone. Often children refuse assistance over difficult parts, as they want to do the whole work by themselves. The instinct of construction seems to exist in all human beings, and in the child it expresses itself in building with bricks, making sand castles and mud pies, and later on in working with tools and making really useful things. Children are thoroughly bored if they are

set to work at something that is useless ; therefore, the best way to encourage creative enterprise in a child is to set it to work, even when only practising, on something that will ultimately be useful.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHILD IN RELATION TO SEX

1. The Sexual Impulse

It used to be held that the sex impulse was non-existent in children until puberty, but modern research has shown this to be a fallacy. One only needs to observe little ones with unprejudiced eyes in order to realise the truth of this statement. We are all apt to disregard whatever we do not wish to see, like the ostrich who hides his head in the sand. The mere mention of the fact that our little ones are sexual would seem to sully their innocence and purity. But first of all, there is no intrinsic reason why any stigma should be attached to sex as such. The sex function is as natural as any others, and therefore, can in itself be neither moral nor immoral. The little child who has no code of morality can thus only be regarded as a-moral. It is only when conscience awakens that behaviour can be judged. It is strange that we are never distressed when our babies perform their other natural bodily functions, and yet it pains us so to hear that children are sexual. It must also be pointed out here that according to the teaching of the psycho-analytical school, the word sexual has not the same restricted

meaning as hitherto attached to it. As sexual are regarded by the Freudian school not only those manifestations of sex which have reference to the genital organs, but also other phenomena extending beyond this special sphere. Thus, it has been found that certain parts of the body when excited arouse sexual or quasi-sexual feelings; these are called erogenous zones. They are mostly situated at the apertures of the body, the mouth, the anus, etc. Children, like their elders, derive pleasure from the stimulation of these zones. Thus it is well-known how children love kissing. Sucking gives babies pleasure apart from that of partaking nourishment, as is so evident from the dummy-sucking which is so very prevalent, and where this is forbidden, from thumb sucking. This sensuous pleasure in sucking as distinguished from the taking of nourishment has been classed by Freud with the sexual impulse, and is referred to by him as oral erotism. The pleasurable feelings associated with the process of defecation is referred to as anal erotism (also called coprophilia). Both must be looked upon as a normal component of the child's sexuality. The pleasure in the evacuation of the bowels often causes children to enhance and prolong the act by retaining the stools unduly long, thus creating a habit which is a frequent cause of constipation. One so frequently hears mothers and nurses complain that the baby is lazy or obstinate and will choose its own time for this pleasurable duty in spite of all coaxing and scolding. How often does this happen just when the nurse sits down to some task, or to a meal,

after she has spent a long time trying in vain to persuade the youngster to do his duty. Many children also love to play with their own excrement, as they do later on with mud, sand, etc. Muscular activity, as for instance wrestling, boxing, sliding down banisters, swinging, skipping, etc., often brings on sexual excitement. Infantile masturbation is much more frequent than is imagined. Sexualism, which is directed towards one's own body, is called auto-erotism. This is often provoked by the necessary processes of nursing and cleaning. Little boys especially very soon discover pleasure in handling their sex organs, sometimes as early as the 6th month. Smacking, tying-up of hands, and other punishments are of little use in putting a stop to this habit, as children learn to do secretly what they previously did openly. Suitable clothing, and, when the child is old enough to understand, explanation of the unhealthiness of the process, is more likely to have good effect. The old custom of frightening children about the heinousness of this practice has perhaps done more mischief by producing the very effects dreaded so much by parents than the masturbatory habit itself. Most frequently the child ceases the practice of self-abuse by itself after a time.

The joy of nakedness which every little child shows so plainly is not only due to the release from the restriction of clothing. Another emotional element seems to be bound up therewith, the delight in pure exhibitionism. Mention has been made in the last chapter of the pleasure in, and wish for

an audience, which all little children express so clearly. Parents know how difficult it is to teach a child physical modesty, and how often the child mischievously thwarts them in their attempts. With exhibitionism the child frequently combines admiration of its own body. (This self-love, where the own self is the object of love, is technically called narcissism, after Narcissus, who adored his own reflection in the water.) Children are so used to being admired that they are only imitating their elders by admiring themselves. They love posing before the mirror and gazing at their own reflections. This vanity spreads and becomes attached to the clothes. Even tiny mites can be found to give expression to this pride of clothes. Thus a little boy of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years sat quietly in a doctor's room for nearly half an hour, whilst his mother was being attended to, without saying a word or moving. At the end he put out his little foot and said to the doctor: "New soos (shoes)."

Exhibitionism also expresses itself in the reverse way, in the wish to see the body of others. Children are by nature very curious, and however strictly they are brought up and watched, they contrive somehow to find out the differences in the two sexes. Much more of this goes on than parents have any idea of, as children are so clever in deceiving their elders. Sexual curiosity can hardly be looked upon as wholly mischievous; for it is a natural impulse and serves its biological function. Perhaps the sanest and healthiest way to deal with it would be to bring up the children quite freely, allowing

them to bathe together irrespective of sex without making any mystery about this matter. Children naturally will try to find out nature's secrets ; where there are none, there remains nothing to discover.

Babies at a very early age like to be kissed. As it is not likely that the child appreciates the meaning of a kiss as a sign of affection, it must be assumed rather that the pleasure arises from the pleasant sensation of the skin. Often they refuse to give a kiss, but will allow themselves to be kissed. Similarly babies love to be stroked and patted long before they realise that they are receiving signs of love. (This is due to skin erotism.) When the kiss is accompanied by a gentle bite, it often causes still greater delight. It is quite a frequent game for the little one to put its finger into a person's mouth in order to receive a tiny bite ; each time this is repeated, there is joyful laughter. As has already been remarked, a certain amount of pain tends to produce pleasurable sensations. Quite a number of children, far from objecting to a spanking, rather like it and ask for it, if they know it is not administered as a punishment. A teacher in an elementary school asked her pupils (aged 12) what kind of punishment they preferred ; the majority voted for corporal punishment. Thrashing often arouses real sexual excitement, and thus should, in all cases, be strictly avoided. For it often lays the foundation for sexual perversions and neuroses in later age.

On the other hand, the child may try to bite other people for fun. Children will often give

considerable pain without realising it. One of the favourite games of children seems to be playing at school. As a rule the pupils pretend to be naughty and are chased by the teacher with a cane. The pleasure of being the punished pupil or the teacher who administers the chastisement is equally balanced. The tendency to inflict pain (sadism) is strong in most children, and particularly so in boys. Though children are often little aware of the amount of pain they inflict, the tendency to cruelty is very strong in young children. Even babies hit out and scratch and have a delight in pulling people's hair. Unfortunately mothers frequently encourage their youngsters in this habit by pretending to be hurt by them and admiring their pluck. In later years the sadistic tendency shows itself in the wish to dominate others, as the masochistic tendency expresses itself in the desire to be dominated. The sadistic trend is on the whole stronger in the male, the masochistic in the female sex.

The period of infantile sexuality so far described reaches from about the second to the fifth year. During this time the child makes its first choice of a love object, which is generally one of the parents. It is well known that sons usually cling more to their mothers and daughters to their fathers. This feeling of love of the son for the mother and of the daughter for the father is so deeply rooted that it leads to jealousy of the parent of the same sex. The numerous myths and legends of every race abound with examples of the love of the son for the mother and rivalry with the father. This is spoken

of as the *Œdipus* complex,¹ which according to the psycho-analytical school, is a normal occurrence in the psychic development of every individual. At a very early age boys love to put on a manly attitude and protect their mother. How often does a boy express the wish to grow up and marry his mother. This is not a mere phrase, but, as psycho-analysis has shown, usually based on real unconscious wishes.² Similarly little girls love to take care of the father and act the housewife for him. Thus, one little girl of 10 said to her father: "Isn't it strange? Ever since I can remember I have wanted to protect you. I know mummy is delicate and needs more care than you, but I have never

¹ It is called so after the famous Greek legend of *Œdipus*. *Œdipus*, the son of the king and queen of Thebes, was exposed at birth by his father, because it had been prophesied that he would kill his father and marry his own mother. His life is saved however by a shepherd, and when grown up he returns to Thebes without knowing who his parents are. On the way he accidentally kills his father and is given his queen-mother in marriage by the thankful citizens of Thebes for ridding them of the Sphinx. On discovering the horrible truth *Œdipus* blinds himself.

² It must be pointed out, however, that this is not the interpretation of the Jungian school of analytical psychology. They admit the facts, but maintain in opposition to the Freudian school that the sexual expression of the *Œdipus* complex is not really meant, but is only a symbolical infantile mode of expression of the relationship between children and parents. It is not the place here to discuss these rival theories. It might rightly be asked, however, why the child should express "harmless" family relationships by sex symbolism.

wished to protect her." (It hardly needs saying that the little girl is very much "gone" on her father.) The child's jealousy of the parent of the same sex shows itself in many ways. Frequently the child will exhibit fits of temper and rage against this parent without any apparent justification. There may even exist the wish for the death of the parent in order to take his place. A little fellow, aged 4, said one day: "I will one day shoot daddy, then I can have mother for myself." Such expressions are by no means rare and can be heard every day from children. Mothers often make the mistake of taking their little boys into bed with them when the father is away. This arouses the child's sexual feelings, and he feels it keenly when on the return of the father he is driven from his place of vantage.

It must be made clear that the child is not cognisant of all these feelings in the sense that adults understand them. The child is an a-moral being and attaches as yet no ethical values to its actions and feelings. Nor does the child realise to the full ideas of death. Wishing a person dead merely implies that he is got out of the way. All these early manifestations of infantile sexualism become in the course of time repressed into the unconscious and are replaced by the more mature moral valuations of life. As the new psychology has shown, the unconscious feelings remain however part of the individual's psyche and have great influence on his actions in later life.

The partial sexual impulses described above

become in the course of development subordinated to and taken up in the normal sexual instinct of the adult. The fixation on the father and the mother is loosened. In the normal development of the individual it is almost entirely undone and replaced by sexual attachment to members of the opposite sex.

2. Problems of Life and Death

Almost as soon as a child can think it begins to wonder and to ask questions about its own body and its origin. "Where did I come from?" is a question every mother has to answer sooner or later. For a short period the child may be satisfied with such evasive replies, e.g. that the doctor or nurse brings the baby in a bag, that babies grow on cabbages or under gooseberry bushes, or that the stork brings the babies. But the belief does not last very long; for children are very observant and soon notice that there is something mysterious connected with the advent of babies. Thus a little girl who was told that her mother stayed in bed to keep the new-born baby warm said she herself could warm the baby in bed if her mother got up to make the breakfast. When N. was 4 years old she asked an old lady where her son had got his baby from. On being told that the stork had brought it, she laughed aloud and over and over again repeated: "The stork brought it. How funny!" Some children will be satisfied with being told that they grow. Topsy, for instance, "wasn't born; she only grewed." Others, however, will not accept such an explanation.

A. at 5½ said that kittens come from cats, therefore babies must come from people. When she was told that Toby, her cat, could not have kittens, as he was a tom-cat, she remarked: "Fathers have children, why can't tom-cats have any?"

The next puzzle to crave for solution is how are babies made and what are they made of. Thus A. at 4 years old asked what she was made of and how old she was when she was born; and N. wanted to know: was A. born new or old? N. seeing a teddy bear in the course of manufacture asked: "How are babies made? Are their hands and feet stuck on?" This question of her limbs worried her, as she wanted to know how could her feet grow if she had toes at the end of them.

Children seem to accept the statement that the baby comes from the mother more readily than the other tales told to them. They are evidently more observant than they are credited to be. When A. was 6½ years old she saw baby's clothes being made. She was told they were made for a baby who was to come in a few months. She naturally asked how the parents knew the baby was coming and was very worried that the mother might not be on the scene or be asleep at the time of the baby's arrival. It was explained to her that the mother was bound to be present as the baby grew within the mother for some months and was then born from her. She then wanted to know how the child was born and was told she was too young to understand. She then questioned how parents knew that a child was too young to understand,

but on the whole she seemed satisfied to wait until she was older. Children have the gift of phantasy, however, and invent their own theories or embroider round the information given them by their elders. Thus it is a prevalent childish belief (also found in many stories of primitive peoples) that the mother has children through the partaking of certain foods. Now the child knows that a certain amount of food passes out of the body, and it is quite rational for it to believe that the baby enters the world by the same route, or that it is vomited out through the mouth. Another prevalent belief of children is that babies come by way of the navel, either by the body bursting open, or by having to be cut open and stitched up again. The following are two charming examples of children's phantasies regarding birth.

The first was told by N. at the age of 9. She has had a liberal education in sex, and was enlightened about the origin of children in early childhood. As her sex interest was reviving, the lesson was repeated to her. This is how she elaborated the newly won knowledge in her own way. She was going to tell a story, and asked what it should be about. "About a red berry," was the request; whereupon she told the following tale spontaneously, given here in her own words: "There was once a berry alone on a bush, and her husband had been plucked off, and she was so sorry, because she wanted to have some children. Then a little red berry rolled along near her, and she asked who it was, and it said: 'Somebody plucked my mummy and daddy, and so

I am all alone, and have nobody to take care of me.' Then the old berry said it had no children, and would the little berry be its child, and it would be its mother. So they agreed, and lived together. After a while, one day the mother said to herself: 'I wonder why little Reddy is scratching herself so much. Why are you, Reddy?' 'Oh, Mummy, I have to scratch, because I feel as if there's something inside me.' 'Oh,' said the mother, 'we must go to the doctor.' So they went to Dr. Berry, and he said she must be cut open. So they laid her on some soft moss. ('Didn't she have chloroform?' asked the listener.) 'Oh, no, but he poured some early dew on her, which is the same as chloroform for berries.' Then he cut her open, and out came a little thing with two legs, two arms and two wings. It was a fairy. It said it had been caught in a flower in the spring and made a prisoner, and then felt something growing around itself, and that was the berry. So then it flew away. Then the berry woke up, and it was quite well, and it gave the doctor three bottles of rose water."

How much the little girl knew who told the second story has not come to the author's knowledge. This, however, is her story: "There was a frog who hopped about in the water, and croaked without stopping. Then there came a little girl, and she wanted to chase him away. Then he swallowed the girl up. All at once the stork came up. But the frog had such a big stomach that he could not jump away, and the stork pecked him on the middle of the stomach with his long red beak. Then he

burst open, and the little girl jumped out and ran quickly home."

These two stories remind one vividly of a certain kind of fairy-tale and ancient legends. Thus in "Little Red Riding Hood" the wolf swallows the grandmother and is afterwards cut open when the grandmother comes out alive again. Similarly in "The Wolf and the Seven Little Goats," the little goats are brought back to life again in the same manner. The identity of the two processes in the fairy-tale and the child's phantasy has been explained as being due to the same psychic cause. Indeed, such fairy-tales are looked upon by the new school of psycho-analysts as expressing the birth phantasies of peoples in their primitive stage of culture.

In the child's phantasy there is no limit to the number of children that a mother can have, nor does it take any consideration of the time that must elapse before a baby can be born. Thus in the charming story "Nicolette," by Evelyn Sharp, Nicolette wishes to have a thousand children; she would put each in turn to soak in order that they should all be kept clean. In another story by a little girl, a little boy and girl were playing at being father and mother. The boy went out and straight away brought back a lot of booty which he had acquired on his adventures. But the little girl was not to be outdone. Proudly she showed him that whilst he was away she had done her share also. She had had during his short absence twelve children. In "The Young Visiter" we are told

that the newly wedded couple had twins a fortnight after their marriage.

One of the facts which children cannot grasp is how there ever could have been a time when they did not exist. "Where and what was I before I was born?" are questions with which they besiege their parents. "It is nonsense," exclaimed N. "How can a person be nothing (before he is born)? He must be something." When told she was not yet here at a certain time, she answered: "I must have been at Granny's then." A. wanted to know where her mother was when her grandmother was a little girl, and she further remarked that her mother must have been somewhere, she could not have been nowhere. A puzzle similar to that of which came first the hen or the egg seems to have occupied N.'s mind. At the age of 6 she wished to know who looked after the first baby. She was told the mother had done so. She then asked again who cared for the mother when she herself had been a baby. She went back in this manner, generation by generation, and still wanted to know who took care of the very, very first baby. It was explained to her that the progenitor of the very, very first baby was a monkey, whereupon she joyfully acclaimed the monkey to have been the first nurse. But doubts arose again in her mind; for shortly afterwards she wanted to know once more who had looked after the first monkey, so that finally the evolution theory had to be explained to her as far as her little mind was able to grasp it.

The question of where children come from is

soon connected by the child with the question of where they go to. The child cannot conceive a time when the individual did not exist, and it naturally assumes that it existed from the beginning of time. Thus A. took for granted that when her mother was a little girl she herself must have been grown up. "Indeed," she said, "I used to take Mummy to school." Children quite generally have the notion that, as they themselves grow up, their elders grow smaller. Thus it is quite common to hear children remark that their grandparents become babies again, when they themselves will be grown old. (This "reversion of the generations" occurs also in the story of N.'s related above.) In other words, past and future are inextricably interwoven in the child's mind. Life and death become one in its imagination. "Not being here" before birth becomes identical with not being here after death. Thus children before birth are conceived as angels, and similarly grandmother on her demise also becomes an angel again, i.e. a baby.

It can thus be seen that children's thirst for knowledge is insatiable. When parents shirk the duty of giving them the information they seek, children will invent from their own phantasy. It is never wise to tell a child not to talk about a subject. Children cannot understand the reason of this, and when forbidden speech, think all the more. The disapprobation of the parents merely induces the child to suppress outwardly its interest in such matters and to repress it into the unconscious,

where it frequently plays a disastrous rôle, as analysis of neurotics so frequently shows. It is the mysteriousness with which grown-up people surround sex matters that produces that very atmosphere which they try to avoid. Rational treatment of the sex problem would not make the theme taboo, but would present it as a natural subject for scientific explanation. The best one can do for the child is to teach it to direct its sex impulse into the proper channels and to spiritualise it.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MORAL SELF

THE innate tendencies form the basis on which the moral structure of behaviour is gradually built up by a process of education. The new-born baby is a-moral; for its actions are not based on moral considerations, but are the result of instinctive impulses. It feels hunger and it automatically cries to have the craving satisfied. In fact the child mainly exhibits at first what are generally held to be immoral traits—selfishness and greed. These two traits persist through the main years of childhood; it is with great difficulty that little children can be trained to overcome their selfishness and greed to any degree.

Selfishness colours almost all our actions through life, but in children it is the most powerful factor of behaviour, for it is part of the instinct of self-preservation. It is only when the child comes to realise social relationships that consideration for others forces itself upon its attention as a necessary factor in maintaining its position in the community. It can hardly be wondered at that children only slowly and with difficulty learn to curb their selfish tendencies. From the first they are used to having

all their wishes attended to without a thought of how and by whom they are thus fulfilled. This feeling of omnipotence holds sway until the child becomes aware of forces outside itself. It is then that it begins to realise that it cannot be the centre of the universe, that there are other people to be considered as well as itself. This is a decidedly painful process.

The child at first tries to incorporate its environment, and this in a literal sense. It brings everything it can lay hold of into its mouth in order to swallow it (oral erotism). It thus comes about that the main expression of the child's selfishness is greed. In the very early stages of development the child is only greedy about its food, as it has no other interests. Although the greed for food persists into later life, it will be found that generally the normal healthy child who is not kept too closely to prescribed diet rarely overeats. It is the child that is given plain, so-called wholesome food only that cannot restrain its greed at the sight of more tempting morsels. Children are greedy in the sense that they wish to have everything they see others have and yet keep what they themselves possess. Though at first this applies only to food, with growing interests it embraces other objects. We have seen before that children love to collect and hoard all manner of objects without any thought of their intrinsic value. The fact that another child possesses an object is quite sufficient to make it valuable in the child's eyes and to create a yearning for its possession. The desire for a thing will make the child reach out

for it. It cannot realise that articles belong to others and that it has no right to possess them. Though a child may have a strong feeling that its things belong to it exclusively, it does not realise for a long time that others have the same right to their own belongings. Thus children may pilfer or steal, not because they have immoral characters, but because they have not yet fully grasped the right of property.

An excessive tendency to hoarding is often combined with niggardliness and miserliness. These character traits, according to the Freudians, are closely connected with anal erotism. Persons with strong coprophilic tendencies exhibit what are called anal erotic traits characterised by niggardliness, narrow obstinacy, self-willedness, often combined with excessive pedantry and orderliness.¹

It is only with the awakening of love and affection that children learn to curb their greed and become willing to share with others. It must be noted, however, that the first pretty pretence of giving Mummy a bite must not be mistaken for an expression of affection or generosity. It is merely an act of imitation; for should Mummy really take a bite, a howl of vexation often is the result. But when the child learns to realise that the people whom it loves have needs and wants similar to its own, it can be taught to control its greed. It learns to offer to others some of its own possessions and even to feel pleasure in seeing others accept them. The

¹ See Ernest Jones: "Papers on Psycho-analysis," London, 1918, chap. xl.

acquisitive tendency can usually be turned into the right channels by the method of sublimation.¹ Children should not be discouraged from making collections of any kind. They should realise that each person's own property belongs to him alone. Therefore, as their own possessions are not interfered with, they gradually learn that they must not interfere with anything belonging to other people. Unselfishness, generosity only come into evidence very gradually. The child develops these traits to a more or less degree as it begins to feel sympathy with others. And here again, it is the emotions of love and affection which first teach the child consideration for others. It delights in seeing the loved ones pleased and will endeavour with all the means in its power to achieve this result. The child, judging from its own self, assumes that its toys, etc., must please others, and therefore it makes offerings to others of objects it cares for. Children are, however, often generous because they do not realise the value of their gift ; this can often be noticed when they cry to have their gift back. Later it learns that not only the giving of material objects, but that of service, obedience, self-control are pleasurable to those it loves, and it will accordingly practise these, though it may entail the sacrifice of precious time and play. Naturally as it grows older its circle widens, and there arise further demands for unselfish actions. The child

¹ Under sublimation we understand the unconscious process by which energy of a libidinous impulse is diverted to a non-libidinous and social end.

learns to control those feelings that are concerned only with the satisfaction of its own desires by merging its own interest into those of the greater self, the family, school, etc. In other words, the child learns to adjust its behaviour to a social standard.

In learning to be obedient children receive one of their first lessons in the control of selfishness. There is always a struggle between the wish of the moment and the need to comply with the wish of those in authority. Obedience, however, is not only the result of love, but also of fear. To teach children obedience through fear of punishment for their misdeeds is to bring about a state of repression which is harmful to the child even into adult life. Sympathetic reasoning should be the guiding principle in the moral education of children. Children should be taught to be fearless in their actions. They should never be punished for a misdeed they are not conscious of having committed. Many childish transgressions are merely the result of the spirit of adventure and curiosity which it is unwise to curb too much. It is, after all, the spirited child that learns to be ready for any emergency that may arise in later life. Children should be taught that every action has its natural result, and that if they disobey social laws, they are bound to suffer. Thus they will soon learn that it does not pay to be defiant or impudent, that the annoyance thus caused to others will ultimately turn against themselves; for people will not care to associate with them. At first the standard of behaviour for the

child is that of the parents. Their word is law, which the child tries to obey implicitly, sometimes through love, sometimes through fear, or love and fear combined ; sometimes through admiration for everything the parents say or do. But when the child enters into the world outside the home, it has to learn to obey the rules of that wider world which are more difficult to comply with than the narrower restrictions of the home life. With widening experience of life in and outside the home the child gradually comes to form its own code of moral conduct. It sets up for itself an ideal ; reward and punishment now arise from the dictates of its own conscience.

It is more difficult to train the aggressive wilful child than the submissive one into habits of obedience ; but if every child were taught to consider the welfare of others apart from itself and to realise that bad behaviour inevitably brings about ostracism, whether in the nursery, home or school, and later on in society, then even the most wilful child would learn to submit to reasonable authority. Children usually resort to defiance by words when they find it impossible to assert themselves physically. Impudence of children often is the unconscious expression of aggressiveness and defiance of authority coming out in spite of the repression. Similarly the child with sadistic impulses, when taught to repress direct acts of cruelty, will often show it in fighting, bullying and frequently in the desire to smash anything that comes within its reach. It is far wiser to help children to sublimate such a tendency by letting them work it off in athletic sports

and similar pastimes, than by punishing them for actions they cannot entirely control.

Masochism, the reverse of sadism, tends to make children submissive. This often goes with a feeling of unworthiness and inferiority. Too great a sense of inferiority is as harmful as too aggressive an attitude. Parents should therefore be careful not to foster this tendency by their authoritative manner, but should rather help the child to sublimate it by directing it into useful channels of social service. For the gentle, submissive child can easily be made willing to do work which it is difficult for the aggressive child to undertake.

The fact that a child is submissive does not necessarily show that it is a coward; nor is the aggressive child, ready for attack, always the plucky one. Bullies are frequently cowards. A child with a vivid imagination has a greater tendency to feel fear than does the child that goes boldly forward without a thought of what may be the result. The child that fears the consequences of certain actions and yet faces them can hardly be dubbed a coward. Besides, fears are so much dependent on unconscious influences and repressions which react on the individual that it is difficult to judge who is courageous and who is not. Thus a little girl was absolutely fearless up to the age of nine. She slept alone in a room in the dark and was never afraid to go into a room at night without a light. She would go up to any animal and pet it and was afraid of nothing. But one evening she had a little girl friend with her. They started to

tell each other tales of burglars and ghosts, until both came down pale and trembling, saying they were sure there was something in the room. From that day our little girl became afraid to go into any room at night alone and constantly woke up with a fear of burglars which no reasoning could take from her. Such fears, which are irrational, bordering on the neurotic, are much stronger and more difficult to overcome than real fears due to actual dangers. It is therefore highly culpable to play on the fears of children, as so many people do in order to make them behave in a certain way. Religious training makes no exception here. As far as it is based on fear, it is as reprehensible as any other. Children cannot understand what meaning the phrase "the fear of God" bears with it, and should therefore not be trained to live in fear, not even of God.

It has been pointed out that the self-regarding feeling finds expression in children in a very primitive manner ; exhibitionism is one of its means. At first this is merely physical ; but gradually it becomes more psychic in its expression. As soon as the child is capable of any achievement it looks about for an audience to show off to, and is very hurt if it does not gain sufficient admiration. To quote Professor McDougall : " One of my boys who learnt to walk when 18 months old, delighted in the applause that greeted his first step, and every time that one of his many excursions across the room failed to evoke it, he threw himself prone upon the floor with loud cries of anger and displeasure." Children will go so far as to hurt themselves deliber-

ately if they think they are not receiving sufficient notice. And similarly, they will invent illnesses and prolong them in order to get the attention they think is due to them. A teacher in an elementary school asked a girl one day why she was naughty, and the girl replied that the mistress paid no attention to the good girls, but spent a good deal of time with the naughty ones. Educators of young children only take notice of this fundamental instinct of "showing off," in order to suppress it. Instead of discouraging the child, however, and telling it not to be conceited, which makes the child self-conscious, one should allow it self-expression in dancing, reciting, acting, etc., so that it should learn to feel at ease with an audience. Thus in the love of pastimes it will learn to sublimate the more primitive form of exhibitionism. Admiration for others and the spirit of emulation frequently can be made to take its place. In fact, a good deal of work in the world is produced by the wish to outshine others. The choice of many professions is originally based on this tendency to self-display. People will sacrifice a great deal in the hope of doing something exceptional.

Self-admiration leads to conceit which is a component in the character of most people. Children do not even realise the need to disguise it. Sir James Barrie, who has such an understanding of children gives us a charming example of this in "Peter Pan," where Peter constantly crows, "Oh! the cleverness of me," when he has really not done very much. Children are not capable of measuring their achievements by comparison with others, so

that what may seem to be overweening conceit may be nothing but delight in the result of their efforts. As the child gradually learns to appreciate other people's work it discovers that its own achievements are not as wonderful as it originally thought and its conceit receives a healthy blow. Conceit can be sublimated into self-respect and lead to a high standard of attainment.

Shyness might well be considered as an over-compensation of conceit, for only those are shy who expect too much from themselves and are afraid of not coming up to their own standard. Timidity in the presence of strangers should not be mistaken for shyness. This usually disappears after a time when children discover that there is nothing to fear from strangers. Children are often made shy through being criticised adversely or being unfavourably compared with others. The foundation of great suffering through excessive shyness, which may persist right through life, is often laid in early childhood.

Exhibitionism and curiosity are such fundamental characteristics of human beings that they are bound to express themselves in some way in spite of all the training of conventional morality. To quote Dr. Waddle from his book on "Child Psychology": "Children are by nature inclined strongly towards what is biologically right. The difficulties in the development of conventional morality are chiefly those incident to the fact that social far more than biological heritage now determines what is right or wrong." It is therefore difficult to know where to

draw the line between repression and sublimation, how far and in what way children should be taught to inhibit their natural impulses. Too much repression often brings about prudishness rather than modesty, and also pruriency of thought even where there may be reticence of speech. Excessive repression in youth may even lead to neuroses. At the same time social morality necessitates the training of children in the path of modesty. To find a spiritual expression for the natural impulses and yet not thwart them must be the aim of rational education. The attainment of modesty is the happy medium. Personal modesty in all things based upon a balanced judgment of one's own value and limitations, neither of which should in any way be exaggerated, is the final goal.

We have mentioned in a previous chapter that children are very prone to envy and jealousy. This is particularly the case where there is more than one child in a family and each one is jealous of the attentions the others receive. Many family quarrels are based on the jealous feelings of childhood, which sometimes are not worked off right through life. Rebellion against the authority of the parent of the same sex can often be traced to repressed infantile jealousy against that parent (Œdipus complex). Similarly unfair criticism of sisters and brothers, for which some rational excuse is sought, is also often due to jealousy originating in childhood. Children are very insistent about their rights, and however careful parents may be to avoid showing favouritism towards any of the

children, there is bound to be some jealous feeling, even though it may only be imaginary. Such feeling of jealousy is by no means always realised by the child. It may be entirely unconscious of it, the constant misunderstandings and bickerings being due to causes which are entirely hidden in the unconscious. Gradually, however, this jealous attitude becomes submerged in the general atmosphere of love and of unity in work and play of the family circle. Each child learns the value of give and take. Thus, if, as is frequently the case, an older child should be jealous of the care given to the baby, the child can be taught to convert this feeling into sympathy and pity for the little one's helplessness. Similarly the jealous feeling of the younger child for the older one's prerogatives can be shown to be unjustified by drawing the former's attention to the duties that accompany these rights and which the younger children are not expected to perform.

✓ Affection and love are the great bonds in every family, and through them children are taught to control their primitive anti-social tendencies and to become citizens of the world. Through its very helplessness the child first learns to love the members of its environment and then to appreciate them for their individual qualities. As one little boy of 3 years said to his mother, "I will rub bread-crumbs for you, although I am very tired, because you were so good to me when I was a tiny little baby." With love and affection comes sympathy for the loved ones. This is later on extended

beyond the family and home to the world of school and social life and thus forms the germ of the future social conscience. Sympathy arouses generosity in children, and a general fellow-feeling for others which expresses itself in willing sharing of all things, good or bad, that crop up in daily life.

The gradual understanding of other people's qualities which is first learnt by the child through the tender emotions, naturally leads up to the feeling of respect. Respect from children is insisted on by their elders without any thought of whether it is deserved or not ; but it is impossible to gain respect without there being liking at its base. Fear may simulate this feeling, but it is not the genuine thing. Admiration can exist without liking ; it is generally the forerunner thereof, but respect implies admiration and liking. The parents are generally the first to arouse the strong admiration of their children. To the child's mind they are everything that is noble, beautiful and clever, and it endeavours to emulate them in every way. Brothers and sisters also are often the objects of much admiration and imitation in spite of the unconscious jealousy complex, for the child is ambivalent in feeling, changing about from the most ardent love and admiration—perhaps because of it—to extreme jealousy. When the child leaves the narrow confines of nursery and home, its admiration spreads to some of its school-fellows with whom it has to compete. Almost every child has some hero to worship who can do no wrong, and whom it is a delight to imitate as much as possible.

The writer remembers that when she was a little girl at school her particular worshipped one had the habit of biting one end of her handkerchief ; this seemed the most graceful, delightful thing to her, and she began to bite all her own handkerchiefs until they were torn. The spirit of emulation and also that of competition are socially useful, since through them children make every effort in their power to come up to the standard set by others. They thus learn endurance and self-control, both physical and spiritual.

It has been shown that the social conscience evolves from primitive feelings which become more complex as the individuality develops. What appears at first as obedience to the parents (mainly the father) based on fear, love and admiration, later broadens out into respect for and obedience to the rules and regulations of society. From the same source there arise the emotions of awe and reverence for a Superior Being which are a compound of love, admiration and fear. This forms the basis of religious conscience. The child extends its worship from the father to God the Father, whom it is taught to believe in as the embodiment of all that is perfect and good. Some of the little stories about God previously mentioned plainly show what a human form God takes in the imagination of children. It needs a good deal of philosophical understanding, of which the child is quite incapable, to conceive God in the truly spiritual sense.

Truth and untruth are abstract conceptions which are very difficult for the child's mind to grasp.

Indeed, for the first couple of years children have absolutely no notion of what is meant when they are accused of not telling the truth, particularly as almost as soon as children have asserted a thing it becomes a positive fact to them. Children with their vivid imagination and their constant make-believe cannot grasp why it is wrong to assert something in daily life which is considered quite correct in play. If it is permissible to tell in stories of animals talking, why should one not be allowed to say pussy wishes to go out of the room when one wants it oneself? If you pretend in fun to be asleep why may you not do so in earnest? Thus A. at 1 year 10 months had often been scolded for dancing in her cot after she had been put to bed. Suddenly surprised one night in the very act, she jumped down, covered her face with the sheet and said, "Baby's asleep" (Baby is asleep). N. after she had been scolded for letting the side of her cot down, promised not to do so again. When, however, she was discovered repeating this she insisted that the wind had blown it down; she could not understand that she had told an untruth. Indeed, it almost seemed as if she believed what she had stated. She also persisted in saying her dolly had put coal on the fire, when she had done so herself. When she was about $3\frac{3}{4}$ years she was reproached for having spilled some ink on the table. She said, "Miss B. spilled the ink." She was told Miss B. was only an imaginary person and she had never seen her, where upon she replied, "She is not maginary, she is a fairy dressed in white and has

wings." At 2½ years she asked the maid to say "the boys are good," or "the boys are naughty," and continued this game for some time; suddenly, however, she turned round and said, "You do tell tales, there are no boys at all." It can be seen from these examples that children really cannot discriminate between pretence and untruth. It is therefore unfair to punish them for what they cannot understand. In the Russian novel "Years of Childhood," by Aksakoff, there is a charming example of child-romancing. The little hero is horrified and weeps bitterly when he is accused of telling lies, as he has so firmly believed in all that he had said had happened to him. Children do not realise that silence may express an untruth as much as does the spoken word. There is a code of honour amongst children that they may not inform against each other at any cost. Thus the child who has been taught to be honest is often put into a predicament between the desire to tell the truth and the necessity not to give another child away. It is therefore not right of older people to question children in such cases.

But even when the child has learnt to know what truth is, there are many motives, conscious and unconscious, influencing it, the path of truth being a very difficult one indeed. These motives are based on fear, the desire to show off and to outshine others. It depends on their relative strength and the will power of the child whether they can be resisted or not. Needless to say, the moral child, brought up in an atmosphere of love and under-

standing, with little fear of punishment, will have scant cause for telling many lies, but even here the delight in bewildering others is a great temptation. The only punishment for the child should be to show it that it cannot be trusted when it does not adhere to the truth as far as it understands it. Perhaps here example is better than precept. If parents were absolutely accurate in their statements to the child and to others in the child's presence, children would be much more likely to be truthful also.

The fear of punishment is perhaps one of the most fatal weapons to use in the education of normal children; and generally it does not even achieve its end. Children are rarely improved morally by a punishment that does not fit the crime, and which is only meted out because the parents are angry. As a true preparation for life, punishment should only be such as would follow naturally from the actions themselves, e.g. loss of trust in the case of untruth, or ostracism for a time when impudence or defiance becomes unbearable. Corporal punishment should be absolutely abolished. It is degrading both to the giver and receiver, and in the case of a sensitive child may leave a spiritual scar for life. Only in rare cases can it be really effective; perhaps a bully may be cowed by it. Similarly, rewards are unnecessary, unless it be the reward of pleasing people by doing a kind service for them. Children will often work for a material reward instead of trying to do a thing for its own value. This is not conducive to unselfish social work in the future.

The question now arises, how is a child to be

brought up in the way of moral rectitude if not by punishment and reward ? It has been seen that human beings have many primitive tendencies that can be trained for good or evil. To force the child to repress its instincts too much is not conducive to moral well-being. For though many a-moral traits may thus be pushed into the unconscious, they do not thereby cease to be active ; they continue to express themselves in a more or less indirect way in the behaviour of the individual. As modern psycho-analysis has shown, repressed tendencies, though remaining unconscious, still play an important part in man's social behaviour. Impulses not visible on the surface may find an outlet in various ways and lead to bad habits of life. On the other hand, there is no doubt that our moral order of society claims imperatively that such a-moral tendencies be kept under restraint. Now there is a possibility of dealing with these primitive, a-social instincts. Environment may be so strong as to influence the individual to overcome effectively his anti-social impulses. Thus a person may curb his tendency to cruelty by over-compensating it, and becoming, on the contrary, very sensitive and sympathetic to suffering. Or a person inclined to exhibitionism may become excessively shy and retiring. Here the original bad tendency is held in check effectively. But this mode of psychic reaction often leads to narrowness and intolerance. No one is more easily roused to opposition against a vice than a person who fears it in himself. The best method of dealing with the natural impulses in so far as

they cannot find direct expression in civilised society is to give them the possibility of expressing themselves in such a manner as will tend to render them social, i.e. by sublimation. Thus, e.g. the tendency to cruelty can be made use of to good account by inducing the child to chop wood, to hammer nails, and in similar ways to use its hands and thus work off its animal spirits. Jealousy amongst children can be changed into emulation and ambition, while the aggressive instinct may also be turned to good use by allowing the aggressive child to guide and manage others. In such ways most of the primitive a-moral tendencies can be turned by careful training into functions of social value.

CHAPTER IX

PLAY AND PHANTASY

1. Play

Various theories have been propounded about the play of children. Each of them has something to be said in its favour, though none seems to explain the impulse completely. The principal theories are those of Schiller-Spencer, of Groos, the Recapitulation theory and the Relaxation theory. The Schiller-Spencer theory was first brought forward by the German poet Schiller, and was later on more scientifically formulated by Herbert Spencer. They contended that, as children and young animals do not need to use up any energy for work, they have surplus energy which must be expended in some way. This energy takes the form of activity in play. There is an element of truth in this theory in so far as the greater abundance of energy possessed by the child, the stronger will be the impulse to play. But this theory does not account for the fact that children will continue playing even when tired out or ill. Besides that, children have to expend a great amount of energy in acquiring the various accomplishments for life. Nor does this theory explain the various definite forms that play

assumes according to age, sex, race, training, imitation, etc.

The theory propounded by Professor Groos tries to account for the form taken by the play of children and young animals. According to Groos, "play is the agency employed to develop crude powers and prepare them for life's uses." Play is instinctive, and like every instinct, has arisen through some practical need. Groos argued that play serves the purpose of developing the child's faculties for later life. The child instinctively plays at what will later be its work. Groos gives examples of this preparatory training in the kitten's chasing and pouncing on a ball, the little girl playing with a doll, or the hunting, fishing and collecting games of boys, all which prepare the young ones for the work they will have to do when they have reached maturity. There is some justification for this theory. Play is based on instincts, and it also furthers the development of certain physical and mental capacities, training the child in courage, patience, perseverance and many other serviceable individual and social qualities. But it does not explain why so many of the plays of children do not in any way resemble the occupation of adults of the present day, for which they are supposed to be a preparation, but rather imitate the pursuits of our primitive and prehistoric ancestors.

The recapitulation theory of play, first propounded by the American educationist, G. Stanley Hall, takes more account of the striking resemblance of the plays of children to the pursuits and customs

of primitive man. This theory assumes a law of recapitulation according to which each individual passes through a series of stages in his mental development which correspond roughly to the stages of racial development. (The recapitulation theory was applied originally to the physical development of the human embryo which during its various stages is held to repeat more or less the different phases of development passed through by the animal progenitors of man). Thus, for instance, activities such as shooting with bow and arrow, which our primitive ancestors used in attack and which has been discarded by modern adults, still enter into the play of boys. Perhaps the greatest objection to this theory is that although it may account for many of the plays of children it does not in any way explain others, mainly indoor games, which cannot possibly be traced back to early customs.

Professor G. T. W. Patrick has formulated the theory of relaxation, which seems to give a more satisfactory explanation of plays in general.

He says: "Play is merely the name we give to the child's activities." The child plays because it is a playing animal, not because there is a surplus of energy, nor because there is an instinctive need of preparation for later life, nor because it is necessary for its complete growth to pass through various stages of racial development. Professor Patrick finds (to use his own words) "a striking similarity between the plays of children and the sports of men, on the one hand, and the pursuits of primitive

man, on the other. This similarity is due to the fact that those mental powers upon which advancing civilisation depends, especially voluntary and sustained attention, concentration, analysis and abstraction, are undeveloped in the child and subject to rapid fatigue in the adult. Hence the child's activities and the play activities of the adult tend always to take the form of old racial pursuits." Play is thus a relaxation because it takes the line of least resistance and saves the higher brain centres.

Coming now to the particular plays of children, we find that the earliest activities of the child consist in touching and handling objects and knocking them about. This shades off into play so gradually that it is difficult to discover where exercise and practice end and where play begins. The impulse to throw things about may be partly due to the delight in muscular exercise which is a preparation for later activities, so that in this case Groos's theory is quite fitting. But when throwing becomes organised into games which need skill in aiming and catching, it seems probable that this represents an old primitive defence reaction ; for primitive man depended on his skill in hurling stones at his enemies, animals or men. At the same time the child may thus vent its aggressive tendencies in a playful manner ; for instead of throwing stones at persons, animals and other objects it now satisfies the same instinct in organised games. In this manner kicking a ball, as in football, can serve to sublimate the instinct of cruelty. There is no doubt that the ball

games indulged in by girls have a strong sense of rhythm for their basis. Ball games have been played by primitive and civilised children all the world over in all ages. Running, jumping, skipping, swinging, climbing, etc., can all be classed in this category. In a good many of them the rhythmical motion is a source of pleasure, and it has been maintained that this pleasure has a distinct sexual nuance.

Some games, such as playing with marbles, top, or a piece of wood shaped somewhat like a pig and called "piggie," give pleasure on account of the skill necessary. The game of marbles and similar games with pebbles, fruit-stones, nuts, knuckles of animals, etc., are played by children all over the world. It is of ancient origin, and is said to have some connection with religious rites. The top and kite also owe their origin to primitive myths and cults.

Group games generally take the form of hunter and hunted. There is a great similarity in these games all over the world. That they are based on primitive instincts hardly needs emphasising, as they bear so very close a resemblance to the pursuits of our primitive and even animal ancestors. The tiny baby in the cradle already loves to play at hiding by covering either its own face or that of the person playing with it. There is an element of fear in this game, and hence the greater joy when the face is uncovered. The child that can walk hides in corners, when playing hide-and-seek, but can never be kept there for long, to the great annoy-

ance of older children playing the game seriously. In fact, small children do not quite realise the game they are playing, nor that they must remain hidden until they are found. Thus a little boy of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years old hides himself and immediately runs out to search for himself, which he does systematically by looking in all the drawers and under the cupboards, etc., as he does when an article is hidden. The hiding seems to be the important part to the tiny child, as children will carefully hide the thimble and, as soon as the searchers enter the room, will announce where it has been put. The game of tick is played as follows : one person chases the other players until he touches one of them, whereupon the latter becomes the chaser in his turn. This is a game which like many others depends on speed for safety. There is generally a rule in this game that if the chased person touches wood or some similar object, or utters an arranged magical formula, he is safe for the 'time being. This seems to bear some connection to the practice of "taboo" so common among primitive people.

There are other games based on hunting, such as fox and geese, giants, etc., all of which have an attacker on the one side and on the other side a group of attacked. The former has to try to capture the members of the opposite side by strategy or force. When they are all captured the game begins again. There is always a den in which the attacked ones are safe ; but when they run out, they are liable to be caught. In the game of "Cobbler"

one has to guess the occupation of the others from their actions. If he guesses rightly, he may try to catch one of the others before they reach the den. Once they are in it, they are safe. It might almost seem as if guessing the trade takes away some protection, in the same way as the mention of a child's name was supposed to bring danger to it. In many ball games there is also a den or "home," where the player is safe. The games of prisoners, robbers, etc., are all played on the same principle, and there is a great similarity between the rules of these games among savage and civilised children. Sometimes the attacking person is impeded by having to limp on one leg or by being blindfolded, as in blind-man's buff. This latter game is said to owe its origin to an ancient demon cult and also to an ancient marriage custom.

There is a group of games, such as bridge games, etc., in which a tug-of-war takes place. At a certain point in the game the children, divided into two parties, cling to each other with all their strength, while the leader of either side tries to pull over one of the opposite side to his own or to break the line. In these games also two children form a bridge by holding up their joined outstretched hands. Under this bridge the whole line of children have to pass whilst singing the refrain. At the end of each verse the child that happens to be under the bridge is caught and according to certain rules, has to choose one side or the other. Afterwards there is a tug-of-war. In some countries the child is said to be caught by the devil, in other places the one

caught is said to be the devil. The words of the song, "London Bridge is falling down," seem to hint at the old custom of burying a living person in the foundations of a new bridge (or building) as a human sacrifice to the evil spirits, and to ensure its safety.

Ring games, mainly played by girls, are, judging from the words, based on old customs. Most of the songs sung in these games deal with courting, and there is generally some action which expresses the choosing of a lover, the marriage and the arrival of children. Examples of these are "Rise, Sally Waters," "On the Mountains stands a Lady," etc. Some of these games represent the old cult of tree-worship in which people danced round trees to make them fruitful.

When the children wish to choose a leader or one taking the chief part they chant a nonsense rhyme, marking off a child to each word ; the child on whom the last word falls becomes the chosen one. This may be a survival of the ancient custom of casting lots for the victim of the sacrifice. It can thus be seen that a number of children's games have either been handed down by tradition from customs which were originally serious pursuits of adults, or they are games which resemble the occupations of primitive man, because they appeal to the primitive instincts in children.

The toys beloved of children are similar in type all over the world. The favourite have always been rattles for tiny babies which please on account of their noise and bright colouring, and dolls and

animals. Dolls and animals delight children because they resemble living beings from whom the children get love and companionship. It is doubtful whether the child realises at first that these toys are not miniature living beings, for it bestows a wealth of affection on them, and is very unhappy if for any reason it is parted from them. The love of dolls is supposed to be due to the maternal instinct in girls, but it is doubtful whether many boys would not care for dolls also if they were allowed to do so ; for boys often play with dolls surreptitiously. It is customary to give dolls and doll's furniture to girls only, and to think that it is degrading for boys to take an interest in them. Drums, trumpets, soldiers, and similar military toys are usually presented to boys as being more suitable to their manly spirit. Boys and girls alike love playing with animal toys. The favourite toy of most children has become the teddy bear, perhaps because of its huggable quality. Noah's ark with its variety of animals is also another prime favourite.

Not all children's plays resemble the pursuits of primitive races, nor are they all survivals of ancient customs and religious rites. There is a whole group of games which are imitations of the daily occupations of the adult people among whom the children live. Games such as " house," " father and mother," shop, school, doctor, menagerie, railway, tram, etc., are played by children all over the world. The children derive so much pleasure from these plays that it must be assumed that they satisfy some instinct. Why should children love to imitate their

elders when in reality they think (as is so often expressed by children) that grown-up people have such a tedious life? The release from restraint and authority is a great factor in the enjoyment of these games. To the child mind the freedom enjoyed by their elders is one of the advantages of adult life that is denied to the child. In their imitative plays therefore children try to get free of everything that constrains them in ordinary life. But apart from this wish for freedom, expression is given in these plays to unconscious innate tendencies which have been repressed. In the play of "house" or "mother and father" the parents are almost always bullying and bustling about and the children are defiant and impudent; rarely is there a child who is willing to be obedient and good. In play both, parents and children, show the aggressive instinct. Similarly in "school" the teacher generally has a cane with which he punishes the disobedient child. In this case again very few children are willing to sit still and to answer questions correctly. They run about the room, talking nonsense in order to annoy the teacher, who chases them about with great gusto. The sadistic and masochistic impulses manifest themselves in this kind of play which thus provides an outlet for them. In the game of doctor a certain amount of physical curiosity is satisfied. Children more often prefer to be doctor to being patient; it is much more interesting and grown-up. In "shop" the pleasure seems to lie in the possession of many articles

which it is impossible to acquire in real life. Whether these are real or only imaginary does not affect the enjoyment of the game in the least. Some of the other games arouse the spirit of adventure and independence. One can travel such a long way in a train or bus and can drive an engine whither one wishes without any interference from other officials. In playing at menagerie vent can be given to all the high animal spirits which have to be so strongly curbed otherwise. Barking, howling, pretended biting, crawling, climbing, etc., can all be indulged in to the heart's content.

One of the greatest pleasures of child life is playing at making things. This is based on the instinct of construction. From the first children delight in playing with mud and sand. Children have an inherent love of dirt (coprophilia); they can give way to this when making mud pies, and particularly when allowed to use water also. This is a natural pleasure and should not be thwarted by insisting on the child's keeping its clothes clean. As one little boy said to his mother: "There is no fun in playing if you cannot get dirty." Making mud pies, sand castles, building with toy bricks or bits of wood will keep children happily occupied for hours at a stretch. At first they only pile one brick on top of another irrespective of size; but gradually they learn to arrange bricks so that they should not overbalance and should have some semblance of a building. Children naturally imitate, as much as lies in their power, the buildings they inhabit themselves and which they see around them. Thus savage

children will erect a tent, wigwam, a hut, whilst European children try to build houses, forts, schools, churches, etc.

The moulding of mud and sand into various shapes leads on to modelling in clay. The many coloured clays, now on the market, lend themselves to realistic representations of objects so that children become quite skilful in making a variety of articles.

The pleasure in threading beads, making daisy-chains, and similar occupations is also based on the creative instinct, as the child feels it is making one complete thing out of many small ones. When the element of design is added to the work the pleasure is greatly enhanced. Children are quite ingenious at inventing designs of colours in innumerable combinations.

The child derives a similar pleasure from making pictures with picture cubes. Here the satisfaction lies in the completion of a picture from sections. At first this is rather difficult for little children, as they cannot realise that the sections are parts of a complete picture. Even when the child learns to distinguish the different parts, it cannot put them together in any definite order. Thus A. at $2\frac{3}{4}$ years could find all the correct cubes for a picture, but would place them at random without any idea of making a replica of the complete picture. A week later she arranged them all correctly upright, but not in their right places. About a month later she managed to complete the picture by herself. She started with any cube, then put others to it in

succession until she had them all together in the box. Then by a process of pushing and shifting she ultimately succeeded in making the picture correctly. After that she could do the pictures from memory without needing to look at the copy.

The love of drawing in childhood is almost as universal as is play, and one might therefore assume that it has an instinctive basis. Children at a very early age demand materials for writing and drawing. At first they scribble without a notion of any design. They have pleasure in the sheer muscular movement of pencil or crayon across the paper. But when the child realises that the older people are doing something definite when they are using pencil and paper, then it will also wish to write a letter or draw a man. Though this is generally a meaningless scrawl, the child firmly believes it has succeeded in drawing a man. N. at 2 years old was "writing a man" and wanted to show it to her mother. Looking at it intently, she said with surprise to her mother, "Man gone"; she did not recognise her own scrawl. Frequently when the child recognises the difficulties of drawing, it will ask an older person to set a copy and then try to imitate it. At first it imitates the teacher's movements of the hand rather than the copy. Thus it will draw a circle for a man's head and one for the body without any idea of their relative position; two strokes for the arms are put horizontally (or slantingly) anywhere and another two downwards for the legs; similarly the dots for eyes, nose and

mouth may fall anywhere within or without the body (see Fig. 1). The next step comes when the

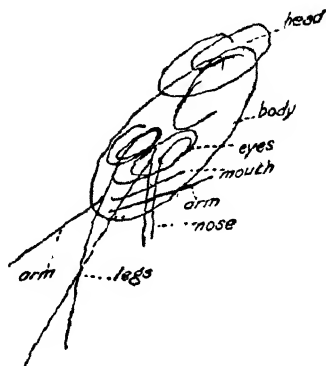


FIG. 1.

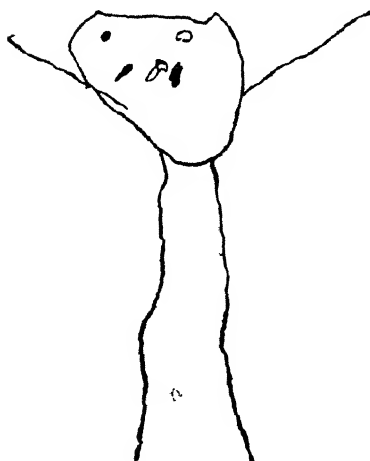


FIG. 2.

child can indicate features by drawing dots, lines, or rings in the circle intended to represent the face. There is generally not much indication of a body; the arms may spring out from where the ears should be and the legs start from right under the head (Fig. 2).

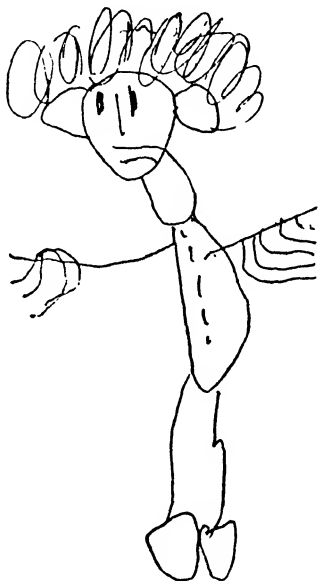


FIG. 3.

By degrees more and more detail is added to the drawing. Rings down the middle meant for buttons show that the figure is clothed. A few lines on the top of the circle are symbolic of hair on the head, and a scribble at the end of the line representing the arms shows the hand and the fingers. (Fig. 3).

There is no sense of proportion at all in children's drawings. The head is often as big as the whole body, and a man will be drawn as tall as a two or three storied house that he is about to enter. When N. was asked how the man could enter such a small house, she was not taken aback, but simply answered, "He would bend, that's all." In fact, children have no notion



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

of perspective whatever. They draw as far as they are able what they know of an object and not what they actually see. In drawing a human face in profile the child puts in two eyes, knowing that every person has two eyes. A house is shown with three sides, a cup with a handle always has the handle at the side, no matter what position it is viewed from. (Figs. 4 and 5).

There is a great resemblance between the drawings of little children and those of savage man (Fig. 6). In both there is lack of detail, want of proportion and ignorance of the relation of parts.

2. Phantasy

Just as play and play occupations of children are the expression of innate tendencies, so all those wishes which the child cannot satisfy in actual life are realised in its own imagination, that is, in



FIG. 6.

Drawn by an adult Indian from Brazil.
(After Sully.)

phantasy. Children live in a dream world of their own and are unwilling to come back to this other world which seems so tame and full of restrictions and limitations. In the life of phantasy a child can be anything it wishes: prince, pirate, queen, or Cinderella, according to the mood it is in. That these moods are dependent on unconscious feelings there can be no doubt. Every child plays the chief part in its phantasies, identifying itself with the main character of a story, sharing all his (or her) adventures, pleasures and misfortunes. Thus when A.

was 2 years old her favourite story was "Red Riding Hood." Before any attempt could be made at telling the story proper, there had to precede it a long recital of what Red Riding Hood did from the beginning of the day, of the clothes she wore and the food she partook of. All these resembled to the smallest details the events of A.'s day. If she had a cold Red Riding Hood must have one too, and must use her handkerchief. When Red Riding Hood came home safe and sound after her adventure with the wolf, she again repeated A.'s final preparation for bed.

It is this identification with the hero or heroine that arouses a tense, breathless interest in the story. Perhaps this also explains why girls and boys, as a rule, each prefer different stories. For the boy likes going out with the hero searching for adventure, slashing with his sword or shooting with bow and arrow, or firing his pistol regardless of bloodshed; while the girl, though she also has many adventures, is more passive and is rescued by the hero. Sir James Barrie, with his intuitive understanding of children, has materialised in his "Peter Pan" heroes and heroines to suit every type of childish phantasy. He has given us the boy who never grows up and yet is independent, with no one in authority over him, the girl Wendy, who wishes for many children to care for and gets them, and who is rescued from the pirates by the hero Peter Pan. Then we have pirates, Red Indians, fairies, mermaids, etc. The children fly (what child has not dreamt of this!) and they have many

adventures. They leave their parents although they love them dearly, thus realising the wish every child has to have freedom from restraint. When they long for their mother, however, they fly home again to be petted by her. They have a nurse who cannot speak and therefore not scold, and at the end the father is punished by having to live in the nurse dog's kennel.

The romance in the old fairy tales appeals to children, though the gruesomeness and cruelty strike terror to the heart of many a child and may be the foundation of neurotic fears in later life. Fairy tales are mostly based on primitive myths and legends. Like many of the children's games and most likely the nursery rhymes also, having lost their original meaning, they have been discarded by grown-up people to be passed on to the nursery. That explains why we get man-eating ogres, giants, wicked monsters and demons, witches and wizards, wicked stepmothers, etc., which were originally really believed in by the people, but which are certainly unsuitable for children's stories. In spite of the terror created in the child's mind, these stories fascinate children ; for, as has been mentioned before, the sadistic impulse is very strong in children and is aroused by tales of cruelty. Thus the a-social tendencies are aggravated, instead of being sublimated into other channels. Modern fairy tales, as for instance, Peter Pan, Katawampus, or the delightful stories of Ethel Nesbit are full of adventure and yet without any gruesome details. The chief rôles are played by children differing in no way

from the little readers themselves. They can thus identify themselves with the various characters without any excitation of primitive a-social emotions.

The child satisfies its need for adventure in its own phantasies perhaps even more than in the stories told by others. In these phantasies the child either repeats its own life, such as it would like to have it ; or what seems to yield still more pleasure, it creates an unreal world in which there are no physical or spiritual limitations of any kind. If the door is closed and cannot be opened, it is quite easy for the child to become small enough to creep through the keyhole ; though the boy may suffer from lack of strength, in the dream world he is powerful enough to overcome any giant. Lewis Carroll, in "Alice in Wonderland," has pictured this wonderful land of dreams where nothing is impossible. These dreams are real to the child, perhaps as real as everyday life, so that they frequently leave a lasting impression. N., for instance, for the sake of excitement, as she said, told herself stories about ghosts chasing her from the attic stairs. She frightened herself to such an extent that for years after she rushed past the stairs in terror of seeing these creations of her own phantasy. Often an adult person cannot remember whether a certain event occurred in reality or was only a day-dream of childhood.

•. Sometimes though the emotions of this world interfere with the actions of the dream story. Thus a little boy who had been presented with a toy pistol pretended to shoot his mother dead ;

but on seeing her distressed at his wish to kill her, he exclaimed: "I won't shoot you quite dead, Mummy; you will be able to move a tiny bit." In a short story of a little boy of 8 we are told of the latter's love to play at "Red Indians." He is also interested in aeroplanes and tries to invent a game in which both take part. As a rule the Red Indians, being his favourites, are victorious in their numerous battles; but reason tells him that they are bound to be defeated by the airmen. He is so swayed by his emotional regard for the Red Indians and the wish that they should have the victory, that in despair he cannot continue the game.

Into the world of make-believe the child takes with it whatever it deems necessary. Toys change their identities according to the part they have to play in the game. A., for instance, used to play at school; her pupils were coloured crayons. Sometimes she sat for hours with the crayons arranged in front of her, never uttering a sound, but from time to time moving the crayons about. It turned out when she was questioned, that she was instructing them in various subjects and giving them places in the form. Another little girl used to take the flowers on the wall-paper for pupils, teaching them all she knew.

As children as a rule tire quickly of a game and change to another, it is difficult for the grown-up people to know exactly which character a child is personifying at a given time. It is a common experience for mothers to address a child by the name it has assumed for the time being and to find

out that the child has already become somebody else and has acquired another name. It is a sore trial of patience for the child when others are so undiscerning. When N. was 3 years old she always played with an imaginary friend named Joyce, who led her into various scrapes. When told not to run too fast with her doll's pram for fear of breaking her doll, she reprovingly told her mother that Joyce did this and never broke her dolls. Her mother, having forgotten about Joyce for the moment, was reminded of her existence by N.'s saying: "Can't you see her just there, running as fast as she can?"

Although nothing becomes impossible for children in the world of phantasy, yet when they come back to the ordinary world, they are very realistic and are often impatient with the attempts of grown-up people at make-believe. Indeed, the remarks of little children overheard at cinema shows are very apt; for they often discover the absurdities and incongruities in a performance which escape the notice of older people rapt in the progress of the plot.

The spontaneous expression of children's phantasies are the beginnings of creative art. The childlike primitive man feels the need to materialise its phantasies. It has no concern at first for artistic form, but simply aims at finding an outlet for its emotions. With increasing experience and skill and a gradual understanding of other people's methods, the child attempts to give form to its inspiration, be it in drawing, poetry,

stories, or even dancing and rhythmical movement. That children have a strong sense of rhythm is very evident in all their attempts at creative work. A charming example of this is to be found in the following little verses. One day when N. was $3\frac{3}{4}$ years old some poetry was being read aloud in the room in which she was. N. thereupon offered to recite also. She then spontaneously recited the following little verses, marking rhythm very earnestly. (They were taken down immediately afterwards in shorthand) :

“The baby in the cradle
It rocks about and she
Moves every time.
I see her little eyes.
The baby’s lovely too,
I saw her every day,
I saw her in the bed
She’s nice and sweet, she said.

* * *

“A little bird flies about in the garden
Every day to his nest,
Sometimes he can rest
 in there ;
Though he has a nice little egg,
He is a nice little bird, I think ;
His nice little colour, his pink cheek.”

As in the imitative games, so in their creative work children embody the experience derived from their immediate surroundings apart from their personal emotional life. They use the material thus gathered and work it up into their own pathetically immature theories of life. “The Young Visiter,” by Daisy Ashford, offers one of the best literary

representations of life as seen through a child's mind, and written by a child who has imbibed her knowledge from the perusal of many books. N.'s story (p. 148) also is typical of the way in which a child gives form to its knowledge in a symbolical manner.

CHAPTER X

THE CHILD AS AN INDIVIDUAL

IN endeavouring to analyse the make-up of children we have had to neglect the fact that the child is a complete personality and not merely a compound of the various instincts and impulses enumerated, i.e. a more or less generalised type. Just as the physiognomy of every person differs from all others, though the face is made up of the same organs, so the mental features, though essentially the same, yet differ qualitatively and quantitatively in every individual. And this applies equally to the child. Though the mental qualities are not fully developed in the child, they nevertheless possess a distinct individual constitutional colouring from the very day of birth.

Furthermore, for the sake of clarity of exposition, the various aspects of the mind had to be described separately. In reality they are, of course, all interconnected and react upon each other. There is also a good deal of overlapping of the various phases of the physical and mental development, and the rate of development varies to a certain extent from child to child. What we have described is in reality an average type and we must guard

ourselves against the notion that any child can be treated as if it were such an exact average type.

Even the senses are not the same in all persons ; they vary from individual to individual in their degree of refinement and sharpness. One or the other of the senses may be dull in some people and very acute in others. Indeed, it is customary to distinguish several types : the motile, tactile, visual and auditory type. The motile type tends to gain cognisance of the outer world predominantly by muscular movements, grasping and handling objects, while the tactile does not handle them, but derives pleasure from surface touch. The visual type uses the eyes in preference for orientation, whilst the auditory takes special notice of sounds and voices. Thus whilst one person will recognise another mainly by the sound of his voice, even without seeing him, the person who habitually uses sight alone, takes as a rule no note of the voice. A blind man learns to distinguish people by the sound of their voices or by touch. The training of children is based on the senses, and therefore, as children vary, there can be no one method of training that can possibly apply to every child. Thus in learning to spell, for instance, one child may do so by hearing the words spelled aloud (sound), while another must see the words in a book, and a third can learn best by feeling round solid block letters. The preference some children evince for certain games also depends on the relative acuity of their senses. Even in playing the same game, different children will play it differently. Thus the motile child will move toy

soldiers about ; the visual child will arrange them nicely in rows, while the auditory child will delight in imitating the noise of the battle.

Similarly, though each child is born with certain instinctive tendencies common to all humanity and inherited from our animal ancestry, the strength of these tendencies varies with each child. To assume that children have sadistic impulses does not necessarily imply that every child is excessively cruel ; for this impulse might be balanced by other compensatory factors which modify and attenuate the original impulse. Similarly the feeling of pride might prevent masochistic feelings from asserting themselves unduly. Frequently, too, impulses express themselves in an opposite way by over-compensation. Thus excessive shyness will often masquerade in the guise of boldness, fear in that of defiance. One often hears of a soft heart under a hard exterior, etc. Each person reacts to external influences in a manner individual and peculiar to himself, which depends on the force and the equilibrium of the inborn tendencies. Thus, whilst one child may be affected by some event, as e.g. a sudden shock in such a way as to suffer from neurotic fears right through life, another child will come through unharmed. Or, while one child would become callous and defiant if constantly and unjustly scolded, another might become timid and hypersensitive to an unkind word.

It must therefore be emphasised once more that, as no two children are alike, and as also no two children react in the same way to their environment,

it is impossible to obtain similar results by similar upbringing. To try to make a child conform to a definite type often imposes untold misery on it; moreover, this method defeats its own ends, for it deprives the child of all individuality and ultimately lessens the production of original work in the world. Parents are apt to forget that though the child is not mature, it still has, like the grown-up person, an impulse towards rationality which needs satisfaction, like every other impulse. To command, threaten or coax a normal child into good behaviour will not be nearly as efficacious as giving it a rational explanation. Of course, this is not saying that the child requires neither guidance nor training in order to grow up into a moral and social being. But it rather means that, just as a tree should be allowed to grow to its own natural, beautiful form and not be trimmed and pruned into some fantastic or geometrical shape as one so frequently sees in gardens, so also should the child be trained to grow up naturally to the limits of its own capacities and should not be forced into any particular conventional shape. Only thus can true and free citizens be bred.

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